CONTESTED VISIONS

IN THE SPANISH COLONIAL WORLD

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The Foundation of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, 18th century; oil on canvas; $37\frac{13}{16}$ x $47\frac{5}{8}$ in. (96 x 121 cm). Museo Nacional de Historia, CONACULTA-INAH, Mexico City (detail).

Frontispiece:
Marriage of Don Martín de Loyola to Doña Beatriz Ñusta, and Don Juan de Borja to Lorenza Ñusta de Loyola, 1718; oil on canvas; 69 x $66\frac{5}{16}$ in. (175.2 x 168.3 cm). Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima, Peru (detail).

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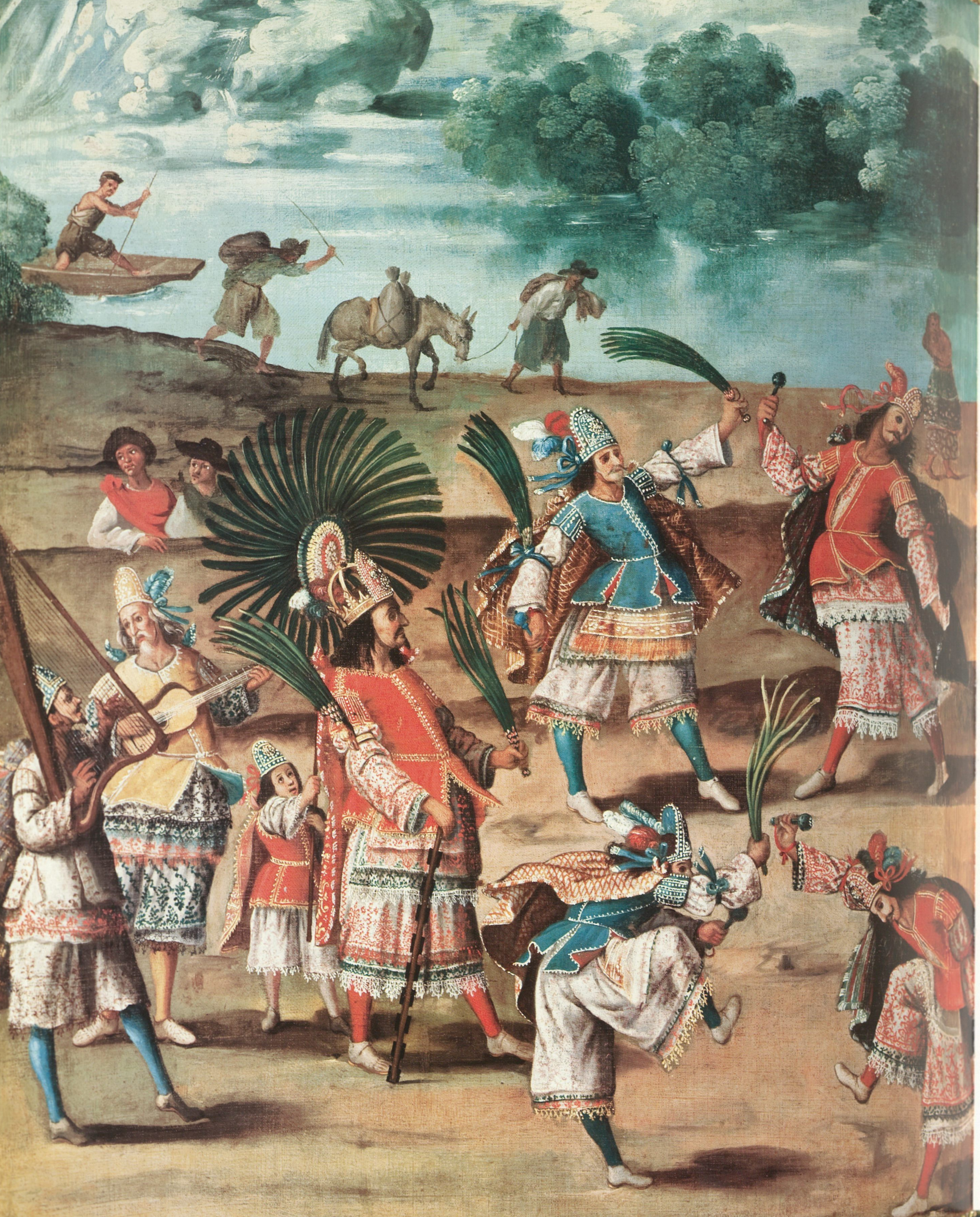
Man's Ceremonial Tunic (Uncu) with Q'asana Design, Peru, Southern Highlands, mid–late 16th century; tapestry weave, cotton warp, camelid warp; 34 ½ x 30 in. (87 x 76.2 cm); National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., A307655.



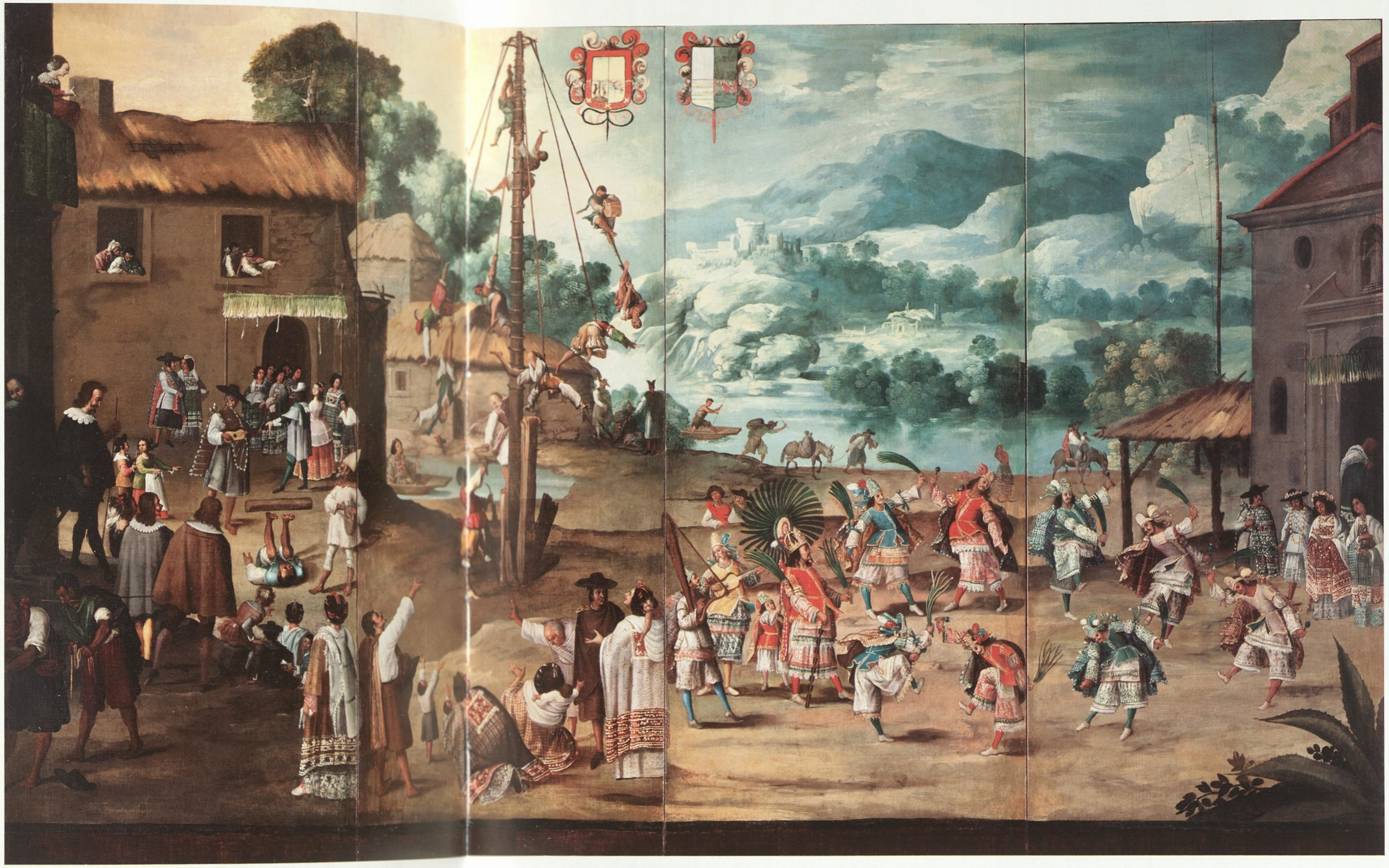
"REMEDO DE LA YA MUERTA AMÉRICA": THE CONSTRUCTION OF FESTIVE RITES IN COLONIAL MEXICO

ILONA KATZEW

Soon after the conquistador Hernán Cortés defeated the Mexica (commonly known as the Aztec) in 1521, their capital, Tenochtitlan, with its striking ceremonial center, was transformed into a Spanish city, the new locus of Spanish power and the setting for the emergence of a host of new political and religious rites. While in many ways these festive apparatuses introduced new forms of ritual and advanced a key new message—the willing submission to the Catholic prince—the indigenous communities of Central Mexico had had ample experience with highly ostentatious forms of ritual since pre-Hispanic times. As the noted historian James Lockhart keenly observed, "existing Nahua patterns were what made the quick apparent success of Spanish modes possible."[1] This essay examines a number of texts and images that underscore the participation of Amerindians in festive rites in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico. As we will see, panegyric texts such as those describing the entry of a new viceroy or the ceremony of allegiance to a new monarch were carefully constructed to spread the idea of good governance.[2] Native participation remained a fixture of many of these celebrations, although how indigenous participants were represented and by whom are more complicated questions that have not received sufficient scholarly attention. In many ways, texts and images—as well as the ephemeral structures that were erected during these festivals—share a number of ideological codes that allow us to describe them as belonging to the same genre. This essay investigates some of the meanings of these rites, as well as their role in ensuring the pact between the Spanish and Indian republics—the two sides of the "imperfect" coin on which the political existence of New Spain depended.

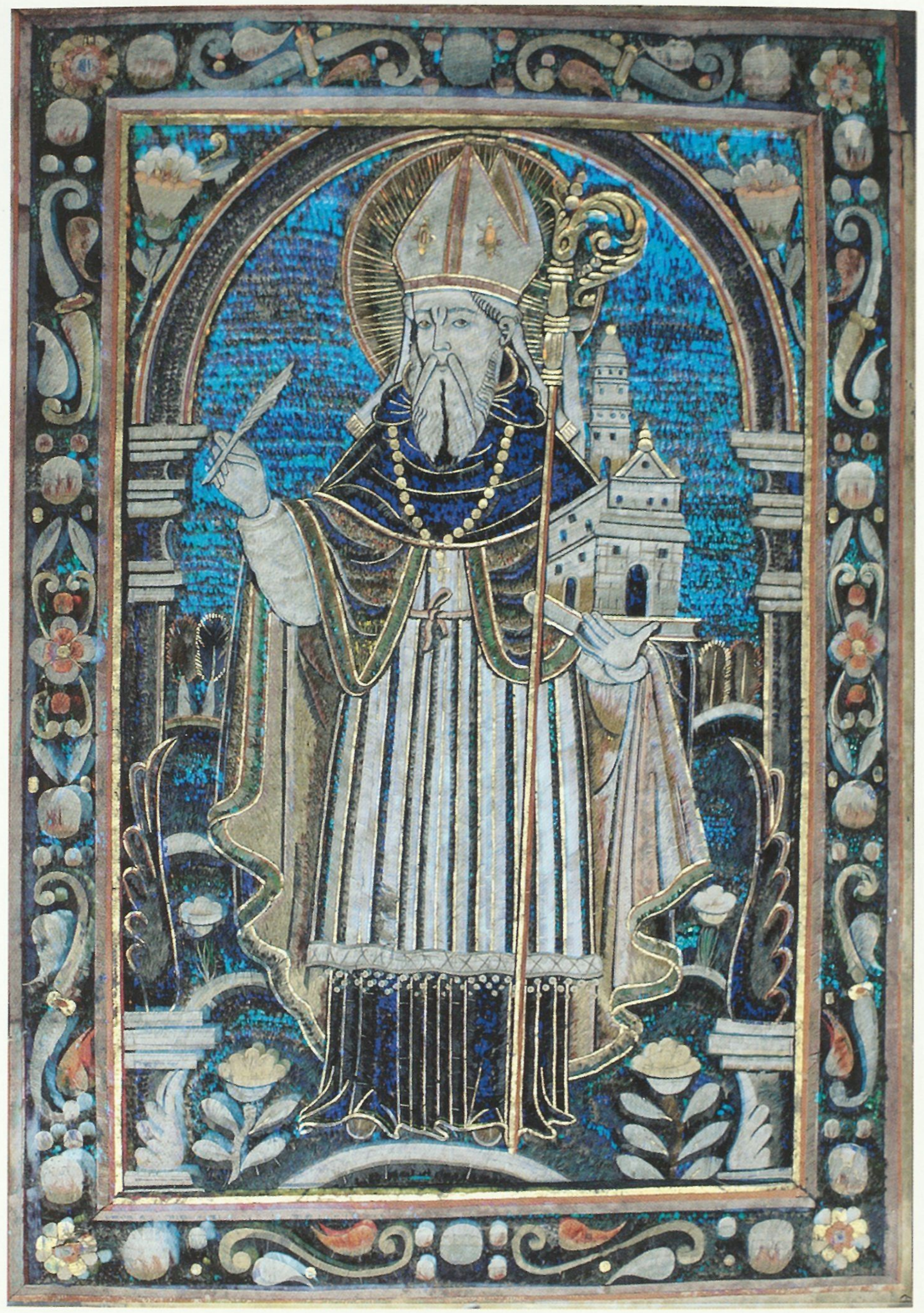
FESTIVE RITES: ANCIENT TO COLONIAL

A striking folding screen, or *biombo*, created in New Spain at the end of the seventeenth century depicts an Indian wedding amid the joyful display of several pre-Columbian games (fig. 110).[3] On the right side, the newlywed couple is depicted leaving the church, flanked by their native *padrinos* (godparents). The group is greeted by several richly costumed figures performing a dance known as the *mitote*, or Moctezuma dance (oftentimes also referred to as *tocotín*). The performers hold *ayacachtli* (rattles) and sumptuous feather fans (some also attached to their arms). The large figure playing the role of Moctezuma dons a majestic feather headdress and crown, holding a bunch of feathers in one hand and a *maquahuitl*, or *macana* (a weapon with sharp blades commonly used by the Aztecs), in the other to underscore his military prowess and might. A harpist and guitar player stand behind the *huei tlatoani* (emperor), and a young boy trails behind him. Stealing the limelight is the dance of the *palo volador* (head-flying pole), in which various costumed figures, including musicians, climb up the pole and dangle upside down from its ropes as though flying. To the left a group of Spanish onlookers dressed in typical seventeenth-century Spanish clothing are entertained by a *juego de palo*, in which a man lying on his back skillfully tosses a log in the air. Although the artist situates the scene next to a lake, the landscape is not marked by any clearly identifiable elements. The effect is one of intriguing atemporality—an ambiguous combination of past and present. How would contemporary viewers read such an image? And what, if anything, was it designed to commemorate?



110 *Folding Screen with Indian Wedding and Flying Pole*, c. 1690; oil on canvas; overall: 66 x 120 in. (167.6 x 304.8 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

To answer these questions, it is important to have an understanding of the significance of ritual in New Spain before and after the conquest. Beginning in the early days of colonization, Spanish authorities introduced a host of civic and ecclesiastical festivities. They were motivated by a sense of duty and a desire to maintain continuity with Spanish traditions, but their primary aim was to legitimize their rule and lay claim to the newly conquered lands. One of the earliest civic festivals was organized in 1539 by a group of conquerors, and Cortés himself was among the participants. The pretext was the success of King Charles V in brokering peace with Francis I at the French port city of Aigues-Mortes. It was a splendid event that lasted several days: it included the creation of an artificial forest in the city's Plaza Mayor (main square), filled with colorful birds attached to the trees with strings to prevent them from flying away, all sorts of live animals, flowers, music, dances, staged hunts, mock battles, masquerades, bullfights, plays (including a stunning re-creation of the ancient city of Rhodes, which took over a good portion of the square), and lavish banquets. The festival—which was also sponsored by New Spain's first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza (r. 1535–50),



111 *Saint Augustine*, Mexico, 17th century; feathers and paper on copper; 20 ⅞ x 16 5/16 in. (53 x 41.5 cm). Collection of Daniel Liebsohn, Mexico City.

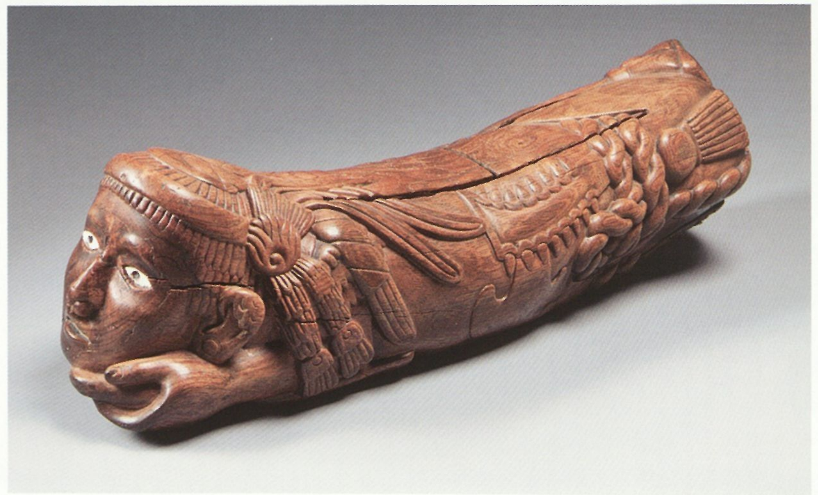
and the city's *audiencia* (royal tribunal)—enlisted the participation of both Indians and African slaves; in other words, it was a deliberate effort to integrate the various constituencies of the budding colonial society, a political ploy by which the viceroy also successfully linked his image to that of the king.[4]

To all appearances, the Indian leaders of the four *parcialidades* (Indian sectors) surrounding the *traza* (the central section of Mexico City, reserved for Spaniards) took the initiative in staging the artificial forest, hunts, and mock battles and willingly participated in the festival. These were all rituals associated with a complex set of monthly festivals in pre-Hispanic times.[5] In addition, indigenous communities were used to such stately displays. At the height of their expansion, Aztec rulers celebrated their coronations with extravagant feasts and coaxed the governors of subjugated lands to attend, showering them with lavish gifts to cement their power.[6] In the volatile years following the conquest, when Indian traditions and forms of spirituality were increasingly under threat, reenacting ancestral rites, even if they were redirected toward the new regime, was a welcome activity that lessened the blow of the dissolution of the Indians' own ways of life and guaranteed their place within the New Spanish body politic. But as the historian Patricia Lopes Don has perceptively noted, the highly elastic and improvisational nature of Aztec rituals is what allowed the indigenous communities to adapt them to their new circumstances under Spanish rule, without necessarily connecting them to any preconquest deity or festival in particular. If the Spaniards tolerated these rites, it was in part because they were unable to fully decode their meaning and because they helped ease the gradual integration of indigenous communities into Spanish statecraft.[7]

The mendicant orders in particular appreciated the potential of preserving some forms of Nahua tradition and redirecting them toward Christian ritual, even if fear of a reversion to idolatry and pagan worship loomed large in the minds of ecclesiastical authorities. This is in part why in the early years of evangelization they encouraged indigenous artists to use feathers (endowed with sacred meaning since preconquest times) to create religious objects such as the awe-inducing feather mosaics with Christian subjects, works that captured the imagination of Europeans because of the iridescence of the feathers and the skill with which they were applied (fig. 111; see figs. 153, 154).[8] Feathers were also used to adorn the bases of crosses, monstrances containing the sacred host, and the litter and *palio* (canopy) in which the host was carried during the Corpus Christi festival as well as on the feast days of various saints.[9] Moreover, during the celebration of Corpus Christi, the most important religious festival of the Hispanic world, which celebrated the transubstantiation of the body of Christ, the mendicant orders allowed the indigenous communities to perform their traditional dances to pay homage to the Eucharist.[10] While they were fully cognizant of the pagan origin of the dances, their acceptance represented one strategy (as did the performance of biblical plays written in Nahuatl) to facilitate the introduction of Christian dogma.[11]

Ancient Mesoamerican dance was inextricably linked to ritual and religious belief, and it took many forms. Dances were performed within and outside the Aztecs' sacred precinct to celebrate warfare and sacrifice, to commemorate the deeds of kings and ancestors, to appease the gods, and to celebrate numerous calendrical festivals, including agricultural ones. They were often accompanied by musical instruments, including the *huehuetl* (upright wooden drum) and *teponaztli* (slit drum), and involved the use of exquisitely woven costumes, feathers, gold, and precious stones, all chosen especially for the occasion (fig. 112; see fig. 22). Much of the information that survives from these dances comes from early colonial sources in Spanish and Nahuatl.[12] Early missionaries went to great lengths to round up the local nobility and elders (the true repositories of local histories) and to record Aztec traditions in the fleeting period after the conquest. This was a task that proved increasingly difficult as the indigenous population was decimated by epidemics introduced by the colonizers and as the passage of time gradually eroded the native people's sociopolitical organization and systems of knowledge.[13]

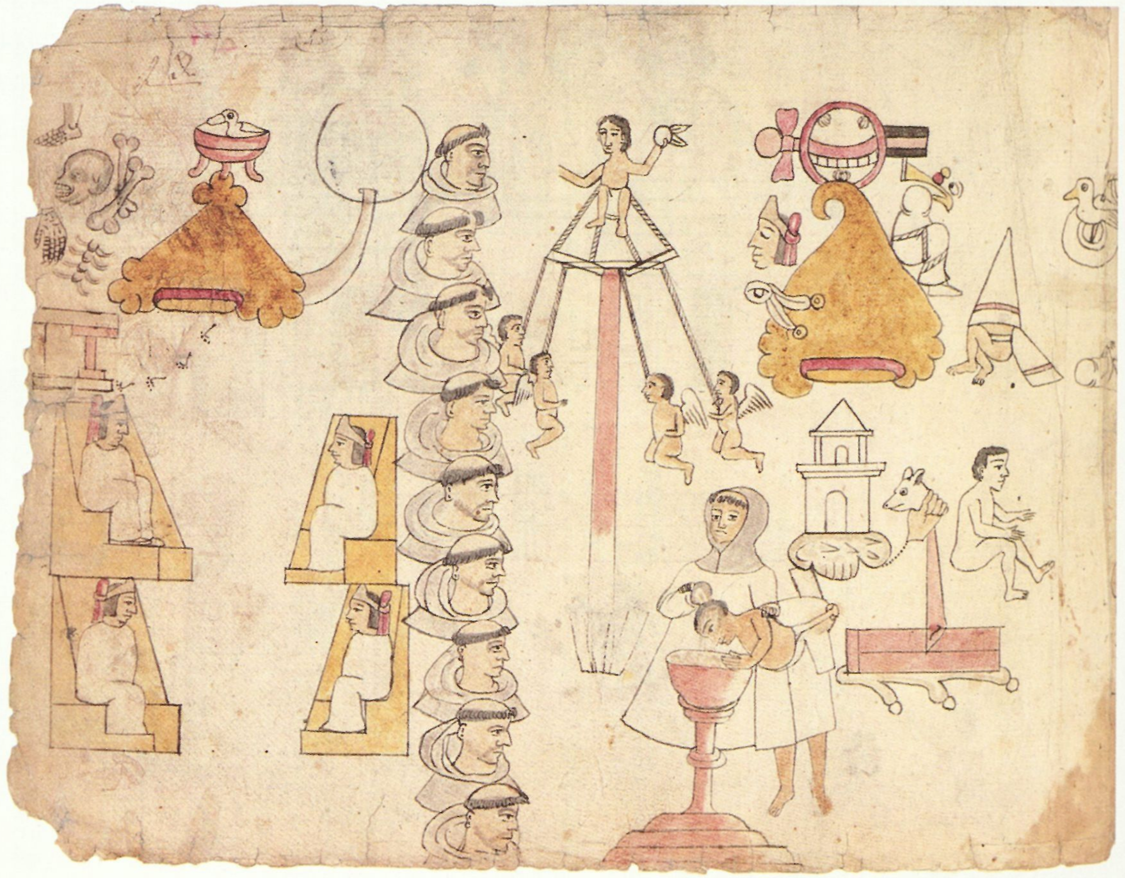
The head-flying pole and juego de palo were among the traditions that commanded the most attention



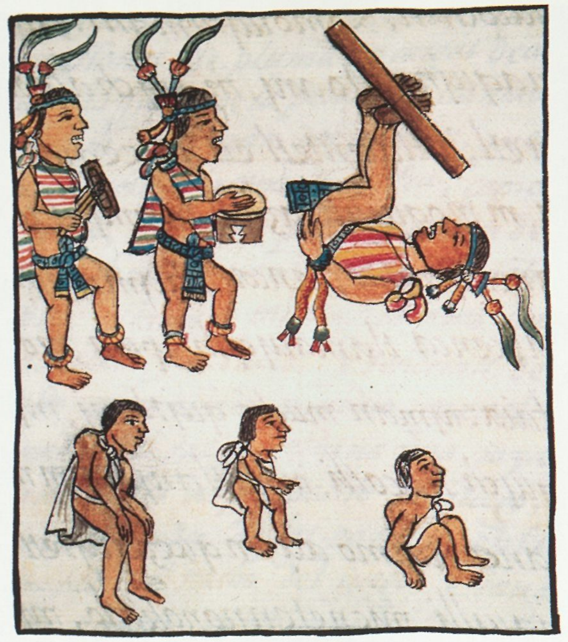
112 *Teponaztli Depicting a Warrior*, Aztec, 1440–1521; wood with shell inlay; 5 ½ x 4 ⅝ x 23 ⅝ in. (14 x 12 x 60 cm). Museo Nacional de Antropología, CONACULTA-INAH, Mexico City.

given the great acrobatic dexterity required from the performers, and they were sometimes even ordered by the viceroy himself.[14] The precise meaning of the head-flying pole dance is not known. One of the most detailed descriptions is offered by the Franciscan Fray Juan de Torquemada (c. 1562–1624), who in 1615 published his monumental *Monarquía indiana*, a voluminous study of indigenous culture in Central Mexico based on the work of other missionaries and local informants. The chronicle, which was reprinted in 1723, is especially important because it was the only account of its nature known to contemporaries. According to Torquemada, after the tree was stripped and firmly set in the ground, specially trained dancers would climb up and tie themselves by the waist to a square wooden spool on the top, from which they slowly descended, twisting and turning. The four main performers wore costumes depicting various birds (including eagles), with wings outstretched to simulate flight. Meanwhile another eight or ten performers, also lavishly dressed with armbands and feathers, danced on the wooden spool at the top accompanied by musicians. Torquemada, who witnessed one such dance in the Plaza del Volador (the plaza off the corner of Mexico City's main square), associated it with the Mexica cycle of fifty-two years because the unwinding of the ropes produced exactly fifty-two revolutions. He also noted that once the friars decoded the real pagan intent behind the dance, they banned the tradition, but that "after those who were first converted to the Catholic faith passed away, their children lost wind of its pagan meaning and they again took to flying . . . and because now they only use it as entertainment, they no longer take care to construct a square wooden spool, as today some are hexagonal."[15]

A number of early sources included illustrations of these performances, but it is important to remember that most early ethnographic studies remained in manuscript form until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and that their influence was therefore limited to a privileged group of lettered men. For example, the Codex Azcatitlan—a Nahua-Christian manuscript painted on European paper in the second half of the sixteenth century, which is not yet fully understood—includes a head-flying pole ceremony among early scenes of conversion (fig. 113). Four winged figures dangle from the pole, atop which a fifth figure holds what appears to be an *aztaxelli* (a white heron feather head ornament). The image is placed amid portraits of nine Franciscans and a baptism scene, with a glyph representing a church.[16] In the Florentine Codex (1555–79), a key work from sixteenth-century New Spain that undertakes a systematic investigation of native culture, the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500?–1590), along with his native collaborators, included an image of the juego de palo but only to note that the game was performed to entertain the Mexica *tlatoque* (dynastic rulers), much like their collections of dwarfs, hunchbacks, and other so-called monstrous creatures, which are also depicted (fig. 114).[17] Dances also frequently appear in other sixteenth-century sources, such as a rendition in the Codex Tovar (1583–87) (fig. 115). The manuscript was written by the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Tovar (c. 1543–1623), possibly based on an earlier lost source that he shared with the Dominican Diego Durán (1537–1588), another important early ethnographer, to whom Tovar was related.[18] The illustration is meant not to represent a particular celebration but to underscore the relevance of dance within the sacred precinct in preconquest times. Among the costumed figures surrounding the drummers are two warriors—one dressed as a jaguar and the other as an eagle—and the figures' use of feathers and other insignia suggests that they stood for high-ranking members of Mexica society.[19]

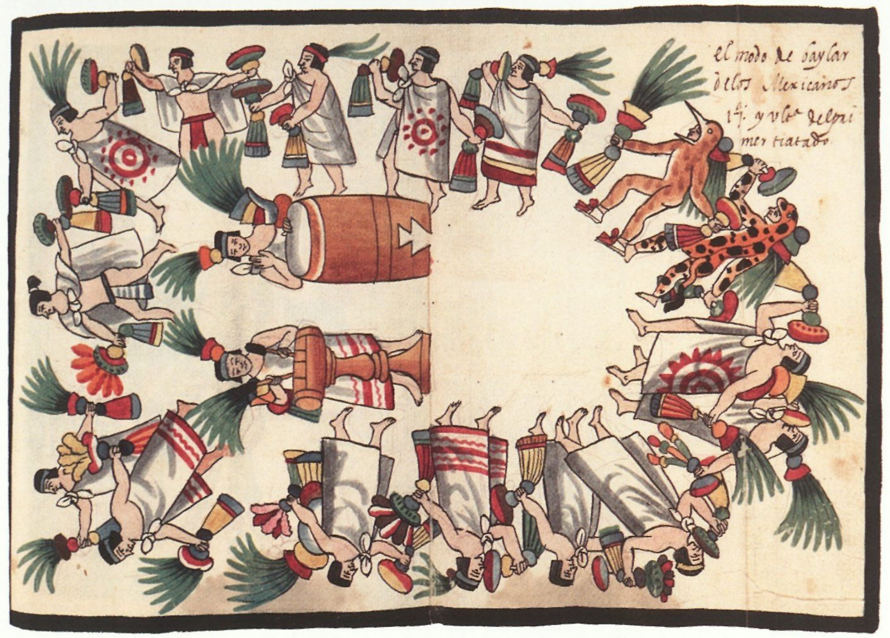


113 "Volador ceremony," from Codex Azcatitlan (Valley of Mexico, end of the 16th century); 8 ¼ x 11 in. (21 x 28 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



114 "Juego de palo," from Bernardino de Sahagún's Florentine Codex (Mexico, 1555–79); 12 x 8 1⁄16 in. (30.5 x 20.5 cm). Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.

Many preconquest dances were incorporated into Christian rituals such as Corpus Christi, the colony's largest annual religious festival. The Corpus Christi celebration first took place in 1526, and by 1539 it was firmly entrenched in the religious calendar of the city, steadily growing in splendor and cost.[20] Despite the religious character of the festival, the *cabildo* (city council) took control over it by 1529 because of its potential to encourage the integration of an increasingly fractured society composed of Amerindians, Spaniards, Africans, and a growing number of racially mixed individuals of dubious ethnic affiliation. Native dances became one of its staple ingredients, but some authorities worried that their pagan content could stir up memories of the past, thwarting the



115 "The Mexicans' manner of dancing," from Codex Tovar (Mexico, 1583–87); watercolor and ink on paper; 8 x 11 ½ in. (20.3 x 29.2 cm). The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

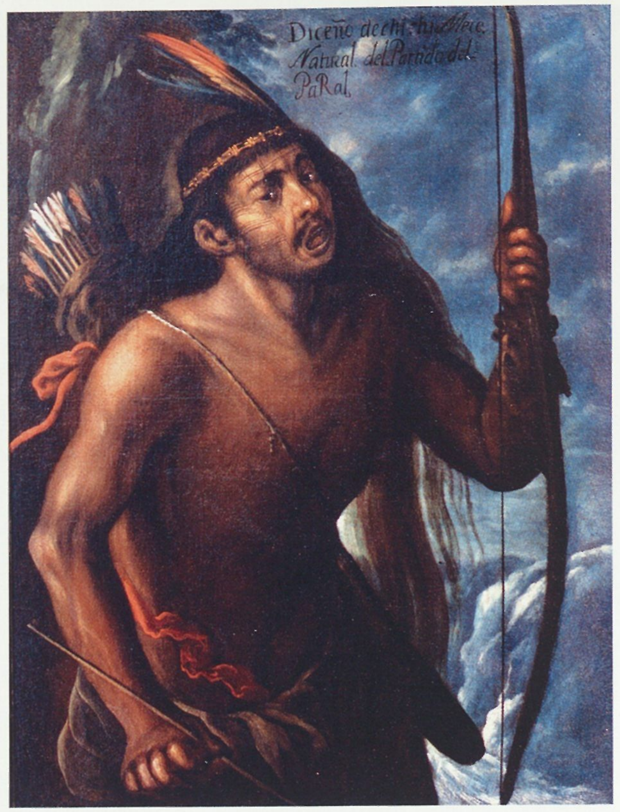
evangelizing mission. Mexico City's first bishop, Juan de Zumárraga (r. 1528–47), sternly opposed the incorporation of Indian ritual as part of the Christian calendar. In 1539 he banned Indian dances from Corpus Christi celebrations altogether, and in 1544 he commissioned—and paid for from his own pocket—the translation from Latin of a widely read book by Denis the Carthusian (1402–1471) on the correct way to celebrate religious processions.[21]

The treatise is interesting for several reasons, including its lengthy theological discussion of idolatry in the Old World and the importance of keeping strict protocol when it came to the feasts of the church, especially Corpus Christi. Dances, games, plays, eating, drinking, and other practices, such as wearing costumes, were thought to lead to depravity and tarnish the procession. They could, however, be part of other celebrations, especially weddings and those commemorating the victory over infidels, if performed with "decency."[22] One of the most interesting aspects of the book for our purposes is Zumárraga's strategic addition of a couple of sentences at the end, in which he underscores the importance of eradicating ancient forms of ritual in New Spain. "In Rome, head of Christendom, and in many other places," notes the bishop, "the procession of Corpus Christi ensues without the games and dances that have become customary in Spain. And even though they could be admitted in other places without misgiving, here they should not be tolerated on account that the Indians are new to the faith. Because the Indians used to honor their idols with all sorts of dances, by allowing them to continue they will be misled into thinking that the feasts of our Lord and saints are the same as theirs."[23] This is a telling passage, and although Zumárraga temporarily succeeded in banning these dances, at the time of his death the city council quickly reinstated them.[24] Save for 1612 and 1692—the dates of two of Mexico's most dramatic uprisings—Indians presented the majority of musical and dance performances, also carrying the large platform on which the monstrance was placed.[25]

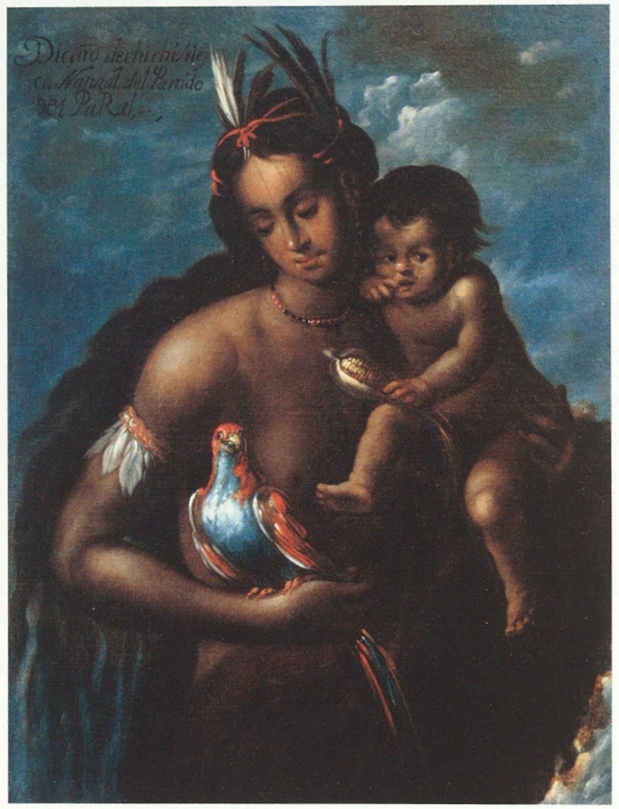
In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, native participation also extended to the most important civic festivals sponsored by the state, including the entry of a new viceroy and the oath ceremony for a new monarch.[26] The festivals took place in the Plaza Mayor, where the viceregal palace, municipal office, and cathedral converged. Through the use of imposing triumphal arches, ephemeral art, pyrotechnics of unimaginable originality, elaborate illuminations, dances, theatrical performances, and games (e.g., mock battles and bullfights), the power of the distant king and his representative—the viceroy—was impressed on the populace, all the while reminding members of society of their place within the socio-racial hierarchy. Strict protocol and inordinate excess—what one scholar aptly terms "theater state"—went hand in hand to promote the idea of a perfectly ordered society bound by love.[27] To be sure, there were variations over time and space, but one of the persistent mechanisms to promote social cohesion during both the Hapsburg and Bourbon regimes was to push each group literally to perform its own identity within the body politic.

Amerindians, who by then were fully acculturated, dressed in ancient regalia and performed so-called ancient dances. One of the earliest surviving representations is attributed to the workshop of José Juárez (1617–1661/62). The monumental canvas depicts the transfer of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe to its first shrine in 1533 (see fig. 174).[28] During the procession, an Indian man (seen in one of the canoes in the background) was accidentally wounded during a mock battle but was miraculously healed when brought before the image of the Virgin. The painting offers a remarkable glimpse into the role of Indians during processions, and although it refers to an earlier event in the history of the viceroyalty, the detailed depiction of the performers, which includes two drummers playing a huehuetl and a teponaztli and dancers wearing animal-skin costumes and hair tassels with feather ornaments, was probably based on the ongoing participation of Amerindians in similar religious and civic processions. In other words, elements of the painting could have been modeled on actual experience. It is important to keep in mind, however, that by this time Creole intellectuals such as the polymath Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700) were avidly collecting Mexican codices and other relics from antiquity in an effort to create a classical pedigree for the colony comparable to that of the Greeks and Romans in Europe, and it is possible that some of these materials were shared with artists.[29] But the point here is that indigenous dances continued to be part of the festive landscape of colonial Mexico two centuries after the conquest and that they could also have informed surviving visual representations.

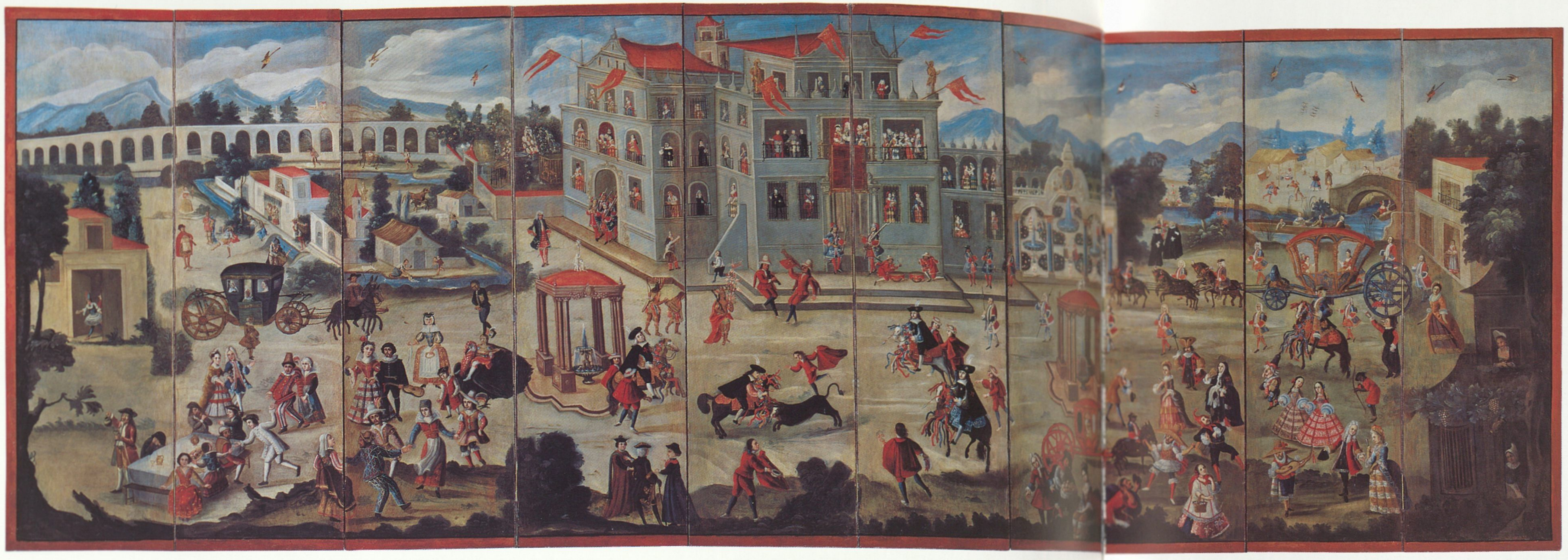
Early eighteenth-century works portraying racial types, traditionally considered the prototype for the development of *casta* paintings (the Mexican genre depicting racial mixing), can also be viewed within the context of the festive genre (figs. 116, 117).[30] Mock battles in which Hispanicized Indians represented the untamed, heathen Indians of northern Mexico—known generically as Mecos or Chichimecos—were an integral part of these celebrations, as they were in pre-Hispanic times.[31] Between 1584 and 1589 Antonio de Ciudad Real accompanied the Franciscan Fray Alonso Ponce during his pastoral visit throughout New Spain, carefully recording their experiences. A noteworthy aspect of his account is his description of the festive receptions with which they were greeted in various indigenous towns, many of which included dramatic mock battles between Indians and Spaniards. During the entry reception of the viceroy to Tlaxcala in 1585, for instance, four elders dressed in attire imitating that of their ancient kings (a reminder of their role in the conquest as allies of the Spaniards); a group staged a fearsome battle between Spaniards and heathen Indians (impersonated by Hispanicized Indians), while a bizarre display of pyrotechnics showed Spaniards and Indians engaged in combat. The inclusion of Chichimecs in indigenous festivals cast into relief the value of both the pre-Hispanic elite and Christianized



116 Manuel Arellano, *Rendition of a Chichimeco, a Native of the Province of Parral*, 1711; oil on canvas; 40¾ x 30⅞ in. (103.5 x 78.5 cm). Museo de América, Madrid.



117 Manuel Arellano, *Rendition of a Chichimeca, a Native of the Province of Parral*, 1711; oil on canvas; 40¾ x 30⅞ in. (103.5 x 78.5 cm). Museo de América, Madrid.



118 *Folding Screen with the Reception of a Viceroy in the Royal Palace of Chapultepec*, first half of the 18th century; oil on canvas; 10 panels, 68 ⅞ x 208 ⅝ in. (175 x 530 cm) overall. Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City.

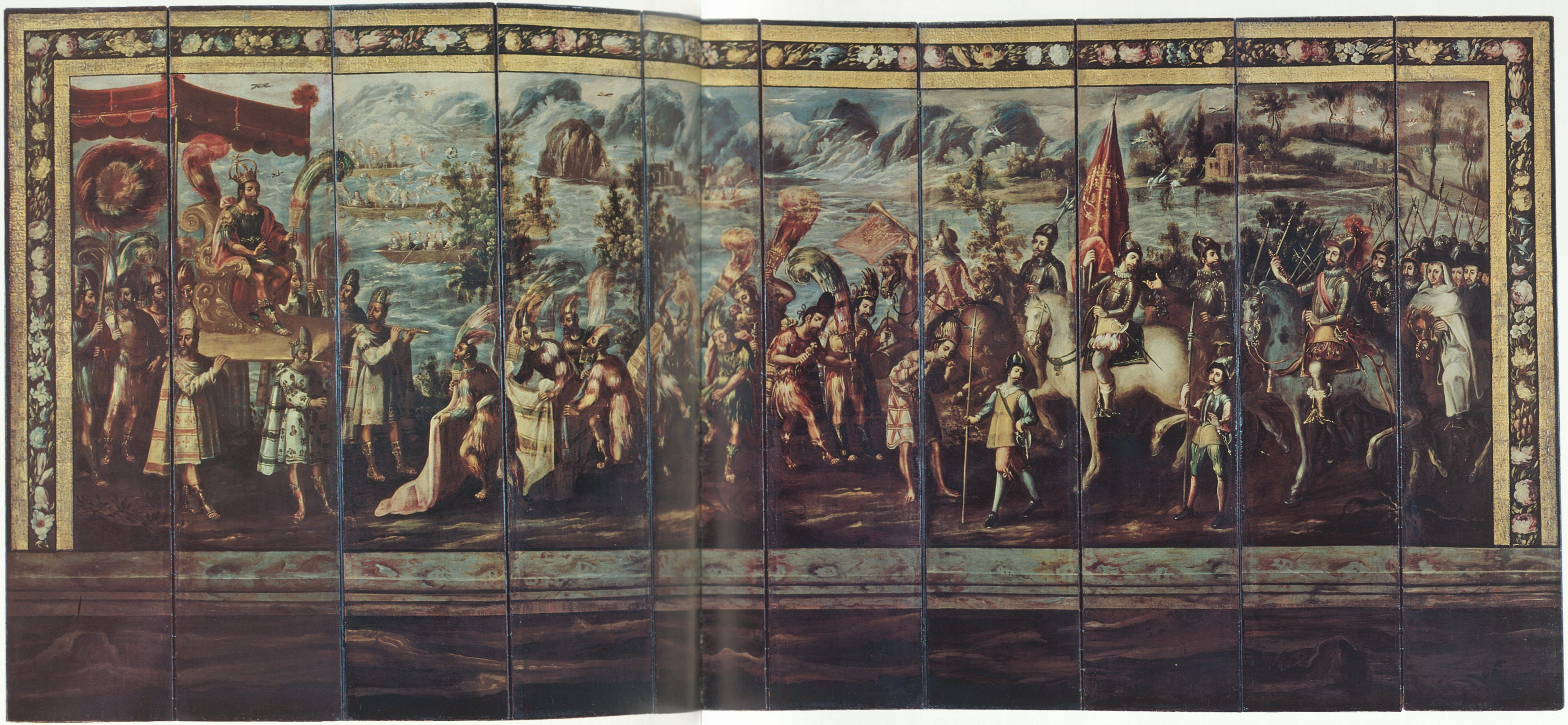
Indians, coding the two groups as civilizing forces.[32] The paintings by Manuel Arellano (c. 1663–1722) might document the presence of counterfeit Indians during public celebrations (see figs. 116, 117). The mention of the jurisdiction of Parral in the inscription alludes to an important colonial settlement in what is today south-central Chihuahua, an important mining center that attracted numerous Spaniards. The settlement was constantly attacked by warlike Indians, whose faces were lined with black stripes and who were famous for instilling great fear with their howls and cries—a detail captured by the artist, who depicts the Indian man with his mouth open.[33]

Meco Indians, wearing their characteristic headdress and feathered skirt and bearing bows and arrows, are more schematically depicted in an eighteenth-century folding screen illustrating the entry of a viceroy in Chapultepec (fig. 118). A sacred place for the Aztecs, Chapultepec became the site of the viceroy's summer palace and was usually an obligatory stop on the entry itineraries of incoming viceroys, which ultimately led to the capital. Although descriptions of the entry ceremonies in Chapultepec sometimes mention hundreds of Indian dancers, save for the three lone Mecos wandering the plaza, a single costumed Indian dancer peeking out from a door in the far left, and an Indian man bearing an animal skin filled with pulque (the fermented alcoholic beverage extracted from the maguey plant) on the far right, this screen presents a fundamentally Spanish-Creole view of society, peppered with Spanish-style dances, bullfighting (a quintessential element of Spanish festivities imported to the colony), and an assortment of figures dressed in Spanish clothing.[34]

RECASTING MOCTEZUMA: BETWEEN OLD AND NEW WORLDS

If Amerindians are sometimes relegated to the margins in the surviving corpus of festive images, they were prominently featured in written descriptions of state-sponsored ceremonies. In many of these accounts, Moctezuma, the tragically defeated Aztec emperor who willingly abdicated his crown to the Spaniards, became the symbol sine qua non of the providential destiny of the viceroyalty—a banner of the pact between the Indian and Spanish republics that gave New Spain political meaning.[35] The idea that the mitote marked the peaceful transfer of power from one regime to another, what is known in juridical terms as the *translatio imperii*, is nowhere better illustrated than in the extraordinary folding screen of the encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma (fig. 119) attributed to Juan Correa (c. 1646–1716). Here Moctezuma sits on a golden throne transported on a litter under the royal canopy—a privilege that in New Spain was reserved for the viceroy (as the king's double) and the holy Eucharist (as the principal symbol of the Catholic monarchy).[36] The tlatoani dons a majestic crown to symbolize his kingship, while the noblemen who carry him wear the *xiuhuitzolli* (imperial headdress). Rich feather fans and other costly ornaments further underscore the ceremonial aspect of the encounter. Meanwhile, on the far right Cortés is depicted with his own retinue, including a trumpeter, the bearer of the *pendón* (royal banner), and soldiers holding spears—symbols of military might. Among the group, wearing the white habit of the Mercedarian order, is Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who, according to various chronicles, accompanied Cortés. Worth noting is the group of four noblemen who spread out richly embroidered mantles for the tlatoani to walk on.[37] An intriguing detail is the two smaller figures of armed Spaniards in the foreground: their dwarfed, awkward proportions disrupt the gravity of the scene, begging the question of why they are included.

Most surviving images of the conquest, as Kevin Terraciano discusses in his essay in this book, date from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in part due to the influence of the chronicles by Bernal Díaz del Castillo (published in 1632) and Antonio de Solís (first printed in 1684). Another important incentive for the more programmatic production of images of the conquest and of Moctezuma in the late seventeenth century might have been the 1680 triumphal arch designed by Sigüenza y Góngora to welcome the viceroy Tomás Antonio Manrique de la Cerda, marqués de la Laguna (r. 1680–86). The arch was decorated with statues of Mexico's twelve preconquest monarchs, who embodied different political virtues. The inclusion of Mexico's ancient rulers constituted a real tour de force, as motifs derived from classical mythology were usually selected for this type of ephemeral decoration.[38] There was, however, a long tradition of "performing the conquest" that predated these chronicles and Sigüenza's arch. Torquemada recalls one such reenactment during the time of Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa (r. 1568–80), which "revived the memory of Cortés and everything that took place until the city was captured."[39] And a few years later, in 1595, plans were under way by the city council to



119 Attributed to Juan Correa, *Folding Screen with the Encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma*, last quarter of the 17th century; oil on canvas; overall: 96 ¼ x 220 ½ in. (244.5 x 560 cm). Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City.

produce an elaborate play of the conquest as part of the feast of San Hipólito (the raising of the royal banner), which had been celebrated every year since 1530 on August 13 to commemorate the conquest of Mexico.[40] In addition, painted images of the conquest were not an unusual sight during state-sponsored celebrations. In 1559 the funerary pyre erected in honor of King Charles V (r. 1516–56) at the Church of San Francisco featured several paintings that depicted, among other scenes, the destruction of idols by Cortés, Indians worshipping newly implanted crucifixes, and Moctezuma and Atahualpa (the last Inca emperor) at the feet of the monarch to symbolize their submission.[41] And moving forward in time, in 1697 the Italian traveler Giovanni Gemelli Careri (1651–1725) reported that during Corpus Christi the silversmiths' guild decorated its street with paintings of the conquest of Mexico, "exactly as things were in the city back then, with the dress that the Indians used to wear."[42]

A particularly telling description is provided by the Nahua historian Chimalpahin (1579–1660), who documented a staged performance of the encounter of Moctezuma and a viceroy: "On Tuesday, the 15th of February of the year 1600, don Juan Cano Moctezuma, a Spaniard, produced [a representation of] the late Moteucçoma. They carried him on a platform and went sheltering him with a canopy. In his presence people went dancing as he came in front of the palace. They came to appear before the viceroy . . . and the Spaniards celebrated."[43] In light of this description, it is tempting to interpret the dwarfed figures depicted in Correa's biombo as children (a frequent presence in public festivals, as we will see below). If we accept this hypothesis, the screen represents the staging of the encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma, effectively connecting the image to the festive genre. In other words, the painting fulfills a complementary role to that of the festive genre by spreading a specific political message.

Something analogous occurs with the so-called Moctezuma dance. The dance has generally been seen as a continuation of pre-Columbian traditions performed by Amerindians, but by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was more of a colonial concoction that served to underscore the willing submission of Amerindians to the Catholic prince. In fact, within the festive apparatus, whether actual Amerindians performed the dance or not seemed almost irrelevant—what mattered was that it be performed. How the dance originated and whether it was invented at the behest of indigenous communities or the Spanish state is not entirely understood. What is certain is that after the conquest, despite the conflicting views of Moctezuma, the indigenous communities kept his memory alive through song and dance. The fact that the tlatoani would be impersonated in dance is not at odds with pre-Columbian religious traditions, in which deities were routinely impersonated by individuals (or were created from perishable materials such as seeds or enduring ones like stone). Known as *ixiptla*, these personifications were a way of rendering deities present by simulation, and dance and song were essential elements in invoking them.[44] For example, during the New Fire ceremony, which took place every fifty-two years to mark a new cycle, Indian impersonators dressed as important Mexica deities such as Tlaloc (the god of rain, fertility, and water) and set out on a nocturnal procession from Tenochtitlan toward the ceremonial center. They were followed by hundreds of people and walked very slowly and gravely. According to Torquemada, this step was known as *teonenemi*, "which means that they walk like gods."[45] Contemporaneous descriptions of the Moctezuma dance make repeated allusions to the graveness of the dance and the solemnity of the tlatoani's performance, which suggests some kind of correspondence with Aztec ceremonial traditions.[46] It is difficult to know, however, if this was the spirit behind the Moctezuma dance that was performed after the conquest, how the various indigenous communities interpreted it, and if perceptions even remained the same across time and geography, but what is sure is that it became a staple of baroque festivals promoted by the state, in which it tended to serve a distinct purpose.

Mitotes were part and parcel of the entry ceremony for incoming viceroys—a drawn-out festivity that could last months at a time. From the moment the viceroy landed in the port city of Veracruz, he made public entries in three cities on his way to the capital: Tlaxcala, the capital of the Indian republic allied with the conquistadores; Puebla, the city founded by the Spaniards and the rival of Mexico City; and Otumba, the location where Cortés fought a decisive battle and where the outgoing and incoming rulers, in a symbolic act designed to heighten the memory of the conquest, transferred power. On his way to the capital, the viceroy stopped in numerous Indian towns, where he was specially greeted for the occasion. This was a highly staged and hierarchical ritual: lavish triumphal arches set in front of the municipal building, cathedral, and viceregal palace—the major seats of viceregal power—were decorated with complex emblems that functioned as visual treatises on good government and advanced the interests of the various corporate bodies of the colony. In exchange for the keys to each city, the viceroy vowed to protect the commonwealth and look after the well-being of its constituencies.[47]

When Viceroy Diego López Pacheco Cabrera, marqués de Villena (r. 1640–42), entered Mexico City in 1640, he was greeted by a float with personifications of Moctezuma, Cortés, and Mexico (represented as a young woman wearing a *huipil*, or native cloak)—a tableau vivant that symbolized the juridical pact of the Indian and Spanish republics.[48] Other ethnicities were invited to perform their own identities to underscore their loyalty to the king and their place in the social hierarchy. In one such performance, a small group of black women born in the colony danced in front of the viceroy; each carried a large painted emblem composed of a short motto, an image, and an explanatory epigrammatic poem. The stanzas made repeated allusions to their inferior condition due to their black skin and noted that their "stain" was redeemable through their abnegation to the viceroy. In exchange for their loyalty, the viceroy would show liberality—a virtue of the Catholic ruler—and thus seal the pact of perfect vassalage.[49]

Among the various groups that welcomed the viceroy were the Jesuits. They organized a performance at the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo—the most important college of the order, where some of the most influential individuals of New Spain were educated. Three large *tablados* (bleachers) accommodated the Jesuits' notable guests, including the viceroy and his retinue, the city council, and important ecclesiastical dignitaries. The tablados were decorated with witty emblems that made reference to the virtues of Villena, echoing those in a triumphal arch set inside the school. Among the range of performances dedicated to the viceroy was a spectacular mitote, or tocotín, that garnered all the attention. What is striking about the dance is that it was not performed by Amerindians but by a group of sixteen costumed students—"the most noble of all Mexico"—wearing feathers and carrying rattles as they danced to the beat of a teponaztli.[50]

This is by no means the only instance in which nonindigenous individuals reenacted the Moctezuma dance. The *jura*, the oath ceremony in which citizens affirmed their allegiance to a new monarch, was the largest and most costly of all royal celebrations. During the 1677 ceremony in honor of King Charles II (r. 1665–1700), the last Hapsburg sovereign, the city council orchestrated a multiday extravaganza that included floats, mock battles of Moors and Christians, masquerades, head-flying pole dances, music, and fireworks. The city's guilds played a key role during the festivities and took every opportunity to outshine one another through their performances. One guild, for instance, organized a procession headed by a personification of Moctezuma escorted by eight Aztec lords dressed with precious stones and fine quetzal feathers, followed by an entourage of twenty-five noblemen wearing half miters (a version of the Aztec royal headdress), holding ayacachtli, with one shielding the emperor with a large feather fan with Mexico's coat of arms—the eagle perched on a cactus (see fig. 63).[51] Moctezuma, wearing a crown and carrying a scepter, was accompanied by a page carrying a platter with another crown to present to King Charles II, an act that symbolized the covenant of the two kingdoms. According to the author who described the festival, the sight of the tlatoani so lavishly adorned "revived the dead memories of the heathen annals and maps of the Other" ("resucitó las memorias difuntas en los bárbaros anales o mapas, del otro").[52] This is a significant comment, particularly considering the interest of Creole patriots such as Sigüenza y Góngora in collecting pre-Hispanic codices and maps, raising the question of the usefulness of these materials in the planning of public festivals, in addition to serving as sources for painted and printed images, a subject that deserves more scholarly attention. A second float in the form of a canoe (in imitation of those that crisscrossed Mexico City) hosted six children richly dressed as Indians performing a Moctezuma dance. Sitting high up on a silver throne was a boy dressed as the personification of Mexico (that is, as a young woman wearing a huipil); the figure was the perfect complement to another float with Spaniards bearing a throne for King Charles II, also impersonated by a young boy.

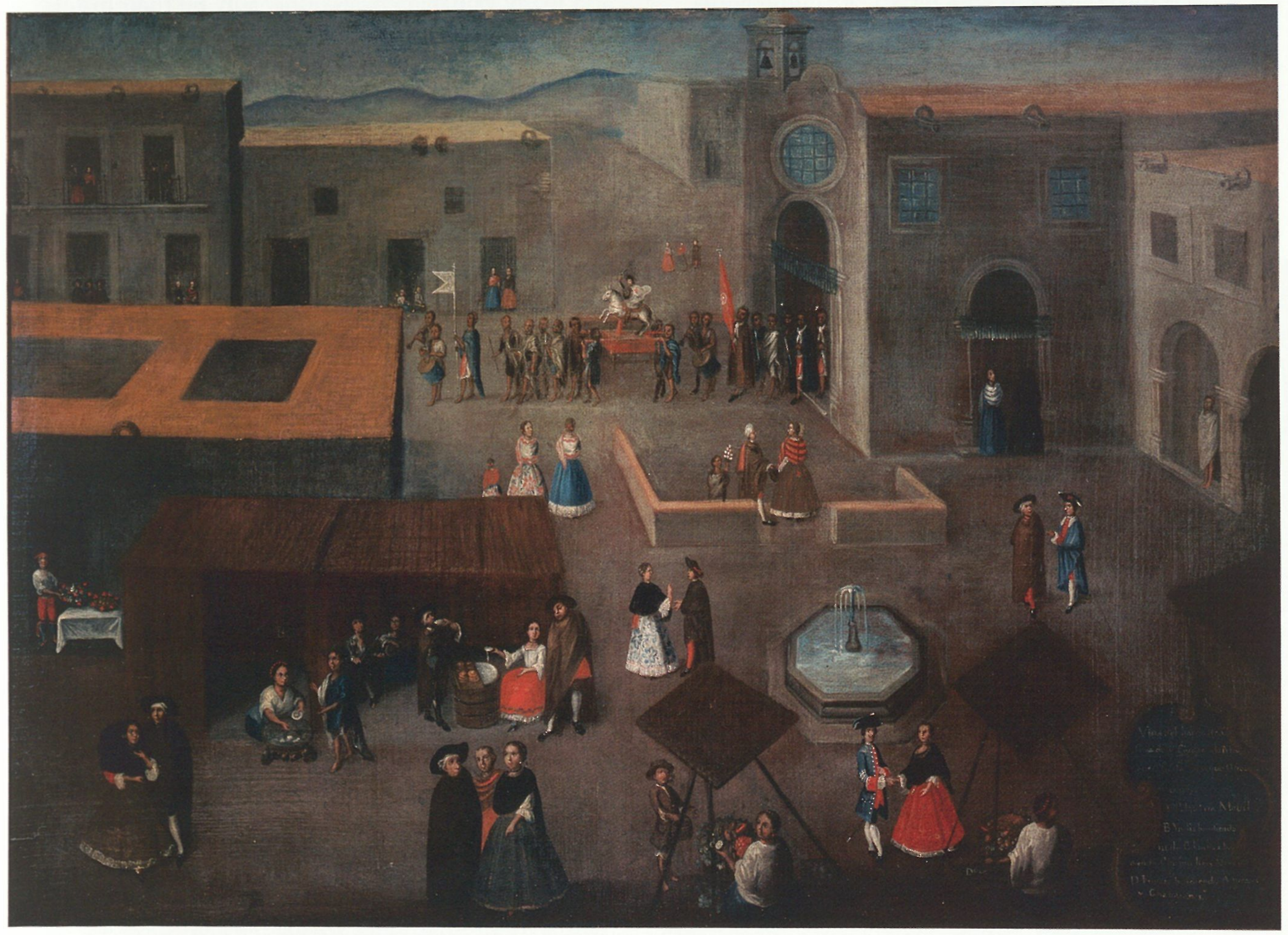
All the while, Indians from the surrounding *altepetls* (Nahua territorial states) attended the event and offered their own historical interpretations. Those from Santiago Tlatelolco personified the mythical deity Ehecatl (associated with the Toltec culture hero Quetzalcoatl) and dressed as ancient warriors holding macanas and arrows and wearing feather armbands. More than one hundred natives from the town of Xochimilco danced a mitote, which included a personification of Moctezuma; some came dressed as tigers and eagles, and others as warriors holding macanas: they danced to the beat of a teponaztli, rattles, and flageolets and engaged in mock battles, impressing the crowd with their martial abilities.[53]

While it is difficult to surmise what these groups thought about seeing their own identities performed by non-Indians, their participation in this event, as in many others, was a potent reminder of their privileges and rightful place in the body politic. During the Corpus Christi celebration, for example, it became tradition for the indigenous communities to erect the *enramada*, or flower-strung thatch, that shielded the processional route departing from the cathedral. Although it represented a heavy burden for the laboring communities that came to the capital from distant places, they considered their participation both a right and a privilege. To the indigenous municipal governments charged with assembling the native communities, the task represented royal endorsement of ethnic autonomy, even if Spanish authorities viewed their involvement mostly as a form of submission. In addition, the festivity underscored issues of ethnic and local pride that could affect the status of entire communities, as the towns responsible for the arches closer to the cathedral enjoyed a higher standing.[54]

Similar issues of ethnic precedence manifested in other ways. One contemporary observer reports that during Corpus Christi various towns would bring out their patron saints (with Santiago, or Saint James, being a favored image) and fight over which one was better and worthy of more privileges. And in some provinces, during Palm Sunday, the indigenous communities organized a procession called "de los Cristos," which consisted of bringing out every crucifix there was in each town, big or small (with the small ones oftentimes appended to the larger ones). The more ostentatious crucifixes with the largest number of attached crosses were taken as an indication of the primacy of a particular town, and towns jockeyed for this honor.[55] An eighteenth-century depiction of a procession of Santiago in the town of Tlaleloco provides further indication of the importance of indigenous processions (fig. 120). Here the festive retinue is depicted leaving the church accompanied by musicians, as onlookers of all social backgrounds partake in the celebration, including the consumption of pulque, the white liquid served from a barrel in the middle of the composition. After the conquest, drunkenness became widespread among the native population of the colony. Pulque production became a major industry that benefited Spaniards and Indians, and efforts to curtail its production repeatedly failed.[56] This scene, however, depicts a group of Spaniards and Indians peacefully congregated around the barrel, reinforcing the view of an orderly and pious society.

The significance of Indian participation in public festivals is also made explicit in the 1747 oath ceremony for King Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–59). The caciques (Indian rulers) of seven chief indigenous towns came dressed in ancient style, wearing feather headdresses and costly jewelry, and stepped up on the platform where the viceroy and other civic dignitaries sat across from the viceregal palace. After bowing respectfully to a painting of the absent king, as was customary, they each displayed a banner with the pre-Hispanic insignia of their own towns, including the imperial coat of arms of Mexico.[57] At the feet of the platform the large group of Indians that accompanied the local governors performed different mitotes and presented other *invenciones* (festive creations), including releasing flowers and birds from specially constructed globes.

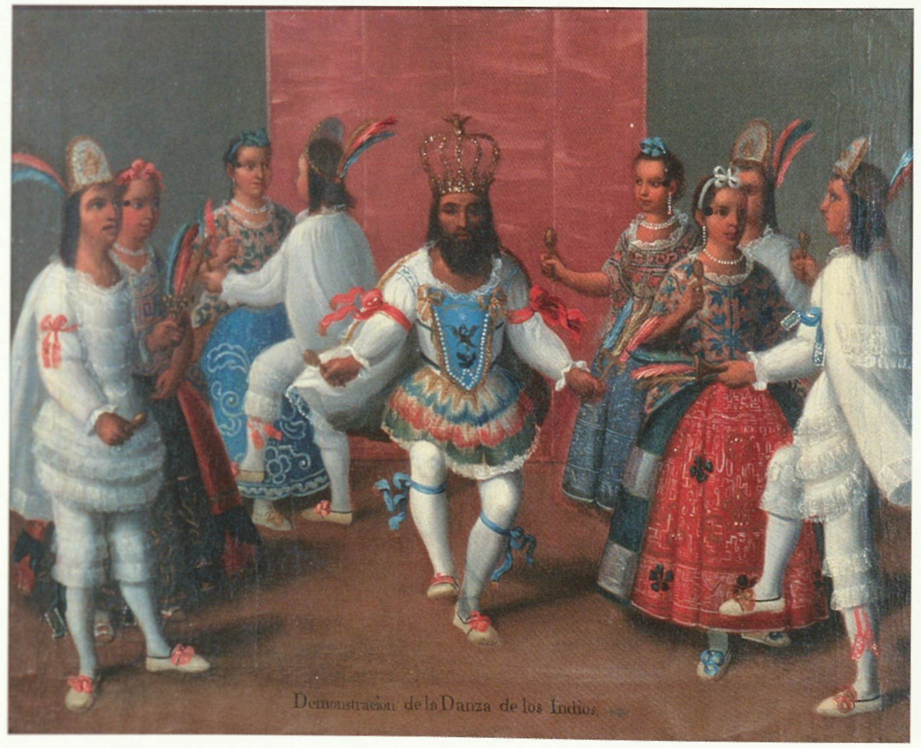
As part of the same celebration, the guilds prepared fanciful floats, two of which stood out for their use of pre-Hispanic themes. The first, shaped like a large canoe, included two children impersonating Moctezuma and Malintzin (Cortés's famous Nahua interpreter), as 150 guild members paraded the streets dressed as Aztec lords and fearsome Chichimecs. The second float represented Chapultepec and included



120 *Procession of Saint James Apostle in Tlatelolco*, Mexico, 18th century; oil on canvas; 27 9/16 x 38 ¾ in. (70 x 98.5 cm). Whereabouts unknown.

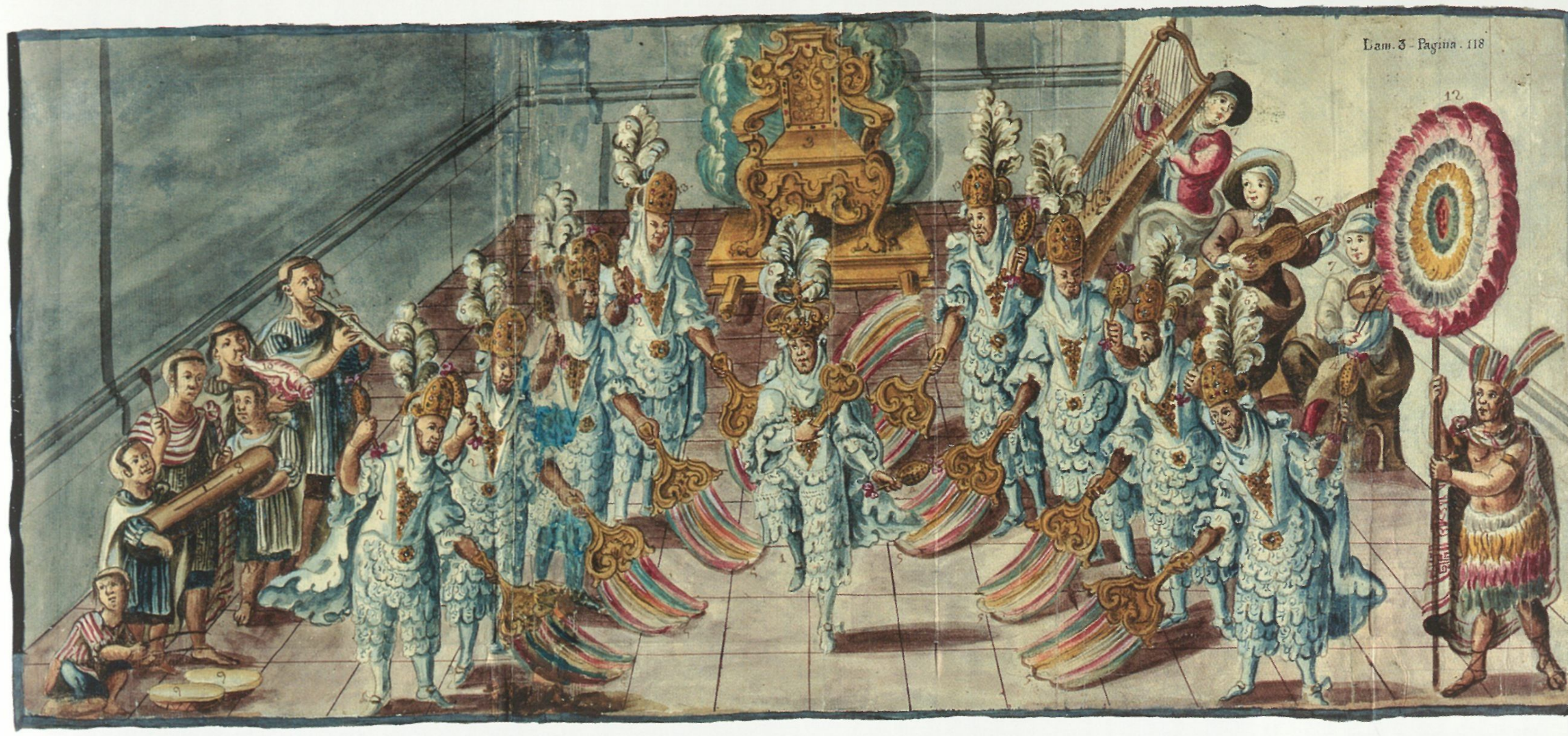
a figure playing the part of Moctezuma relinquishing the sacred hill to a personification of America as a young girl wearing a huipil.[58] Next to Moctezuma were other preconquest rulers, who also offered their domains to the king, in one case symbolized by a golden throne—literarily his seat of power.[59] A combination of European and indigenous musical instruments livened up a mitote performed by eight ancient rulers. This time, however, it was not Moctezuma who led the dance but Ixtlilxochitl (the great-grandson of the famous Texcocan ruler), who, following his baptism, was called Ferdinand—a clever way to pay homage to the king. José Mariano de Abarca, who was charged by the state with describing the event, noted that after the festive retinue made its way through various locations, it came inside the viceregal palace so that the viceroy could see the lively "parody of the long-gone America" ("remedo de la ya muerta América").[60]

This is the context in which two late eighteenth-century images can be understood. The first is inscribed "Demostración la danza de los indios" (demonstration of the Indians' dance); it depicts four couples dressed in a mixture of Spanish and Indian clothing: the women (or young girls?) wear richly embroidered skirts and bodices and hold small rattles, while their male companions wear all-white costumes made of lace and half miters and hold feather fans. The center of attention is the figure who plays the part of Moctezuma; he wears a crown, a feather skirt, and a breastplate embroidered with fine pearls and Mexico's coat of arms (fig. 121).[61] The second rendition appeared in a 1763 illustrated account of life and manners in colonial Mexico (fig. 122). The dance is described as that performed in ancient times by Moctezuma accompanied by eight kings from the surrounding areas. In contemporaneous times it included a combination of European instruments—harps, violins, and guitars—and indigenous ones—teponaztli, ayacachtli, seashells, and flutes made of deer bone. Significantly, the author of the account notes, "in imitation of those dances, the performers today wear a variety of ribbons and lace, and many valuable jewels, especially on their miters and breastplates."[62]


Demostracion de la Danza de los Indios

121 *Demonstration of the Indians' Dance*, c. 1780; oil on canvas; 22 13/16 x 29 ½ in. (58 x 75 cm). Museo de América, Madrid.

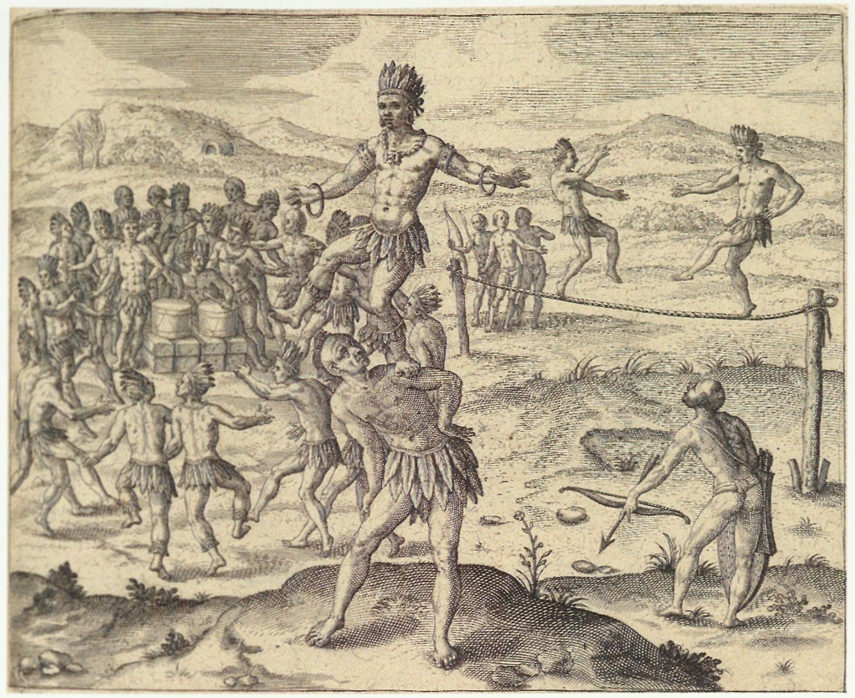
The notion of imitating ancient history recurs in many accounts; it established a semantic distance that lessened the danger of a dormant, potentially threatening past. In other words, the re-creation of the Aztec past created a liminal space—inherent to the baroque festive genre in general—that allowed each socio-racial group to express its identity in a public forum. Individuals performed their place within a prescribed script that honored the Catholic prince. In so doing, they catered to the elite's expectations and exigencies and in the process ensured their very political survival. This, of course, was also a matter of social and ethnic pride, as participation in the city's major public ceremonies validated the existence of each group and its rights. To a certain degree, the fact that indigenous communities shared the stage with mock performances of their own past (sometimes enacted by children and other social groups) was what allowed them to exist as a corporation. Put differently, within these public ceremonies, Amerindians were able to appear as themselves insofar as they were not perceived as disrupting the colonial social order. In an ironic twist, mock performances not only revived the memory of the Indians' purported voluntary transfer of power but also made the Aztec past a hallmark of New Spanish identity. This ambivalence was perfectly embodied by the extravagant pyrotechnic machine designed for the 1623 jura of King Philip IV (r. 1621–65): it portrayed Moctezuma with various Indian rulers kneeling before the lion of Spain's coat of arms—a potent image that impressed the tlatoani's willing submission to the Spanish monarchy minutes before his effigy was set ablaze.[63]



122 "Dance of Moctezuma," from Joaquín Antonio de Basarás's *Origen, costumbres y estado presente de mexicanos y filipinos* (Mexico, 1763); 11 ½ x 24 ¼ in (29.2 x 61.6 cm). Hispanic Society of America, New York.

"EXEMPLARY" IMAGES: MITOTES AND WEDDINGS

The cases discussed above give a sense of the highly visual nature of public festivals. In addition to creating virtual living dioramas, state-sponsored festivities were filled with painted allegorical images, many created expressly for the events, which regretfully have not survived. The folding screen discussed at the beginning of this essay represents one of the most significant examples of the small corpus of images illustrating an Indian festival (see fig. 110). The clothing of the dancers, a combination of indigenous garments that include xiuhitzolli and feathers and stylized European breaches and lace, corresponds almost verbatim to seventeenth-century descriptions.[64] While the racial identity of the Spanish onlookers and Indian attendees is indicated by their clothing and skin color, the dancers and musicians wear masks with beards, presumably in imitation of Spaniards (facial hair was considered a sign of potency associated with Europeans). But despite this travesty—typical of festivals in general, in which inversions were tolerated as a form of momentary release—the figures' dark hair and skin suggest that they are indeed Amerindian. So are the figures on the head-flying pole wearing Turkish costumes and the one standing next to it with a black mask. Turkish impersonators were a frequent presence in colonial festivals, a tradition imported from Spain, where mock skirmishes between Spaniards and Moors alluded to the victory of Spain during the

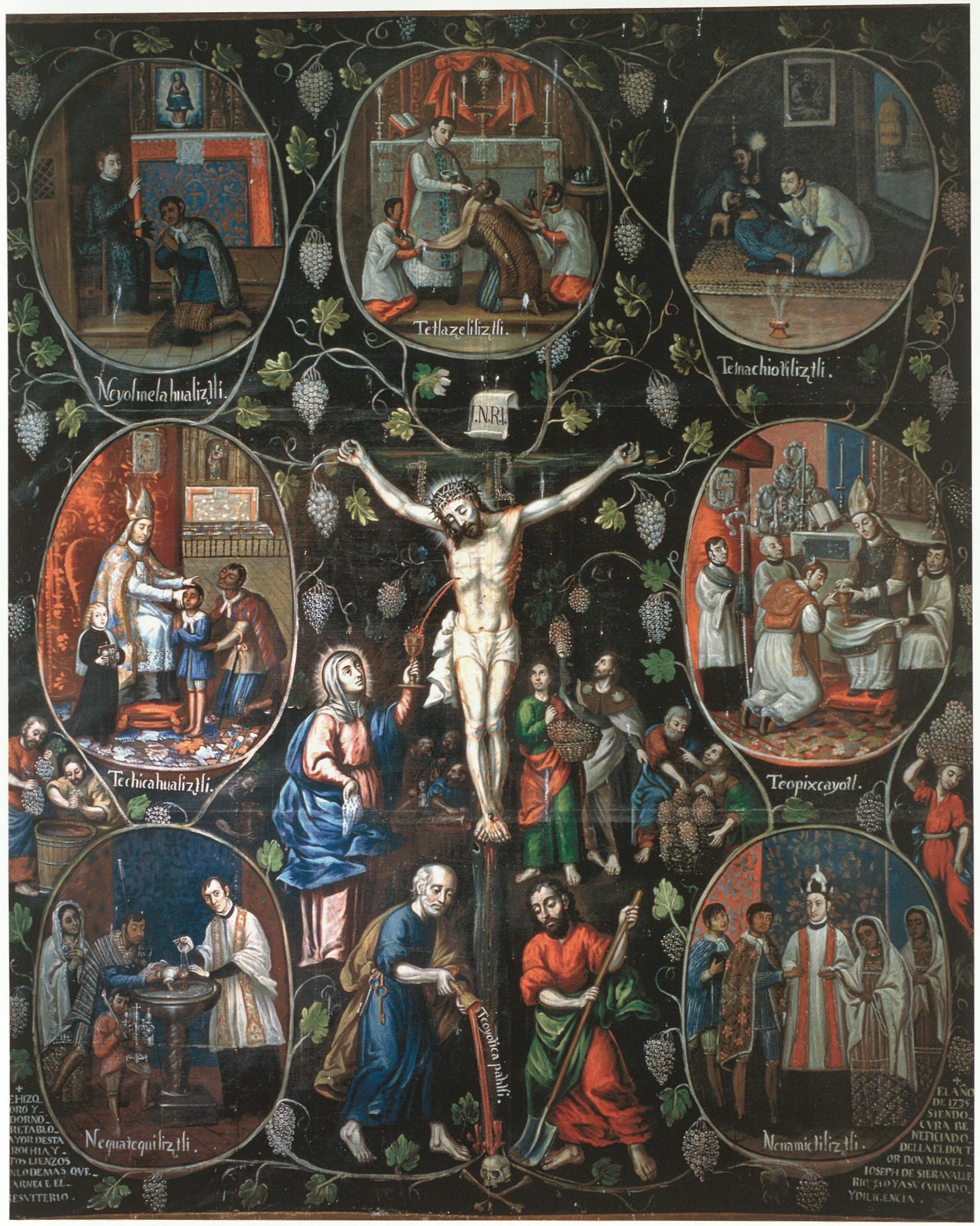


123 "Indian dances," from Theodor de Bry's *America*, part 9, *Neundter und Letzer Theil Americae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1601); 5 13/16 x 7 3/8 in. (14.8 x 18.7 cm). The John Carter Library at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

Reconquista. In the New World these battles were meant to remind colonial subjects of Iberian supremacy, and Indians often acted the part of Moors.[65] The battles, however, also symbolized the victory of Christians over heathens and infidels in general, and offered a space for Christian Indians to affiliate with the victors.

In examining the *Indian Wedding and Flying Pole* screen, we also need to consider two additional factors that point to its constructed nature. First, there existed a visual tradition for depicting some of the performances in European art with which the artist or his patron might have been familiar. This is particularly true of the juego de palo, an image that was incorporated into one of the earliest illustrated books on the Americas, by Theodor de Bry (1528–1598), even if it was misinterpreted and used to describe Peru (see fig. 158). The image, as Thomas B. F. Cummins discusses in his essay in this volume, is in turn derived from a watercolor by Christof Weiditz of a real juggler who traveled to Spain in the sixteenth century (see fig. 159). In addition, there was also a long tradition deriving from de Bry of illustrating mitotes (fig. 123). This was a fanciful image largely based on reports from travelers that was copied from source to source until the late eighteenth century, ironically also in works by Spanish authors such as Solís.[66] To be sure, this is a very different view from that presented in the screen, but the fascination with indigenous traditions in Europe contributed to the selection of scenes and to how the image was constructed. Although the screen's two coats of arms are almost completely lost, they likely belonged to a Spanish family, suggesting that the work was intended to be exported to Europe and to provide a glimpse—even if mediated—of colonial life.[67] In many ways, the screen represents the "perfect" union of the Indian and Spanish republics: the native dancers wear European masks, and Moctezuma's headdress combines ancient-style feathers with a European crown. The indeterminate landscape in the background reflects Flemish pictorial conventions and is European in tone, but it is offset by the native maguey plant in the far right, which signifies the land. The canoes and lake also appear to anchor the composition geographically in New Spain (whose capital was built on an island surrounded by water), while the presence of indigenous and Spanish onlookers emphasizes the orderly coexistence of both polities.

Another factor to consider is that the screen's pre-Hispanic games are represented as part of a religious ceremony: an Indian wedding. Why was this context considered appropriate? Marriage became a prime concern of the mendicant orders immediately after the contact period. Paintings illustrating the seven sacraments of the church, including matrimony, were routinely exhibited in churches, as an eighteenth-century painting inscribed in Nahuatl to facilitate indigenous understanding attests (fig. 124).[68] In his *Monarquía indiana*, Torquemada described at length the wedding ceremony of the brother of the king of Texcoco—the first to take place in the colony. Spanish godparents were present to mark the occasion; the couple was adorned with wedding staffs and garlands; and dances were performed.[69] Considering the circulation of Torquemada's work, in which he also


Neyolmelahualiztli.
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Techicahualiztli.
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Teoyotica pahtli.
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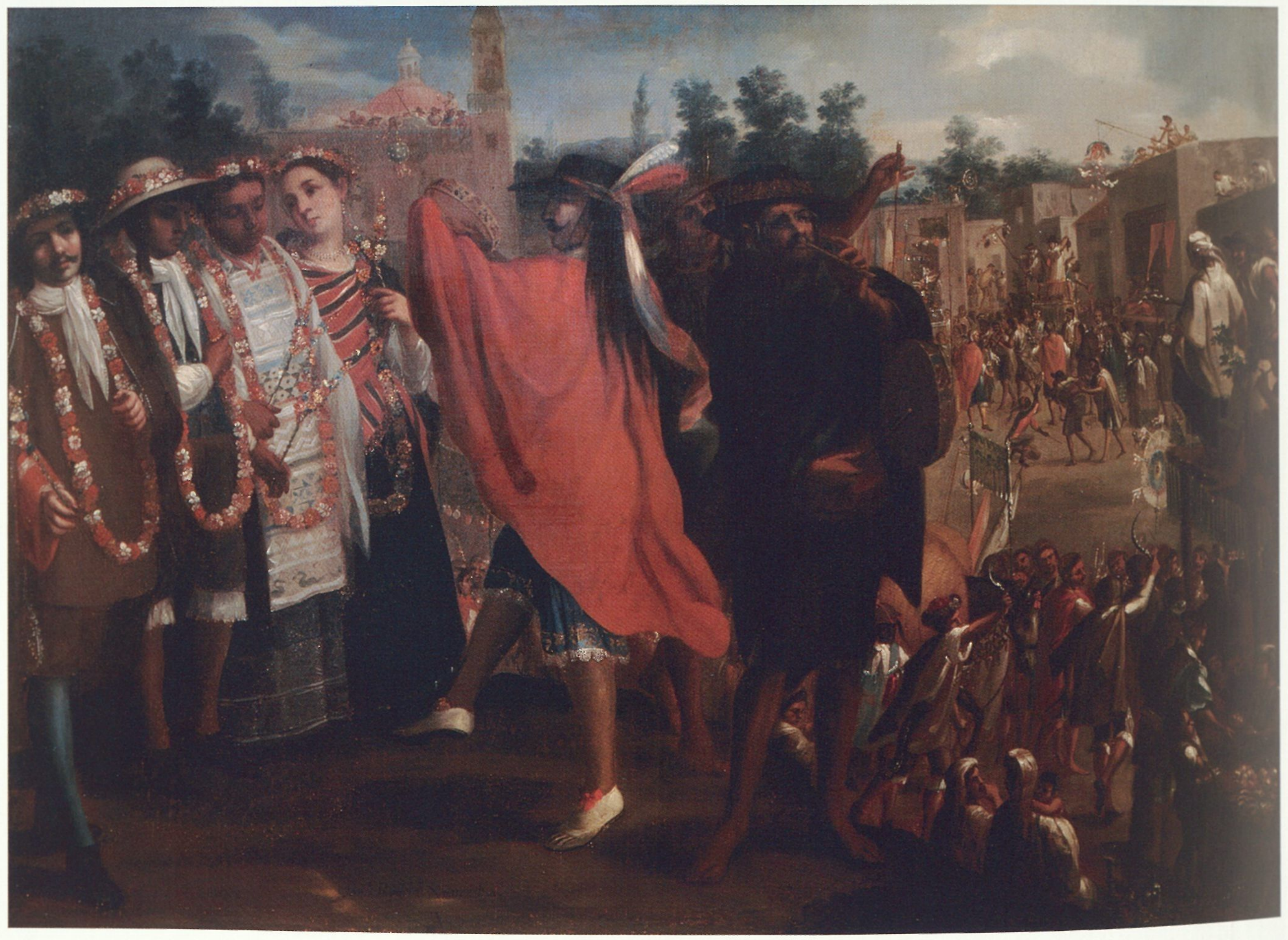
EHIZO ORO Y DORNO RETABLO AYOR DESTA ROCHIA Y TOS LIENZOS NLODEMAS QVE ARNECE EL RESVITERIO.
EL AÑO DE 1735 SIENDO CVRA BE NEFICIADO DELLA EL DOCT OR DON MIGVEL IOSEPH DE SIERAVALLE RIC OYASV CVIDADO YDILIGENCIA.

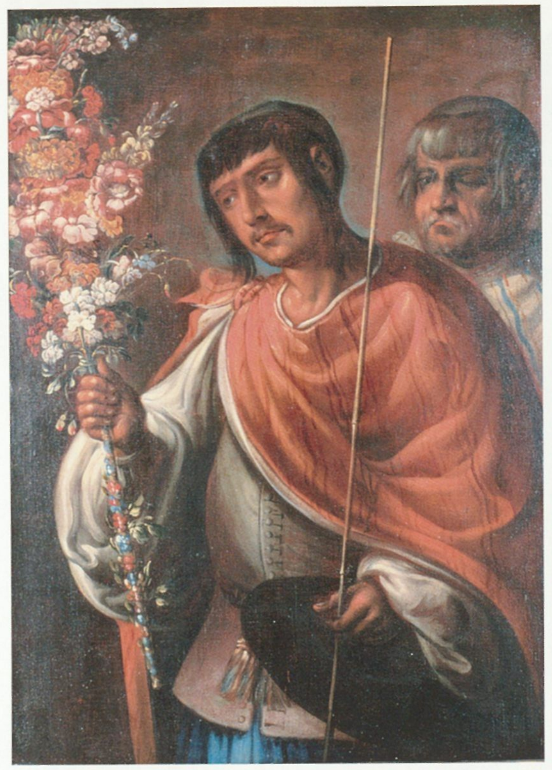
124 *The Sacramental Tree of Life*, 1753; oil on canvas; 236 1/4 x 169 5/16 in. (600 x 430 cm). Parroquia de Santa Cruz, Tlaxcala, Mexico.

described the juego de palo and head-flying pole ceremony, it is tempting to link the invention of the screen's iconography, at least in part, to that text. Noteworthy, for example, is Torquemada's remark on how spellbound (*embobados*) the spectators were at seeing the *volador*, a fact that the painter of the screen took great care to convey.[70]

Significantly, the representation of Indian weddings gained in popularity in the 1720s, coinciding with the reprinting of Torquemada's book. For example, a work signed by Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675–1728) depicts the wedded couple outside the church (the dome is visible in the back), flanked by their Spanish padrinos as prescribed by the church (fig. 125).[71] A masked dancer, flageolet player, and drummer lead the wedding procession. The work is exceptional for its description of a village festival, which includes a *castillo* (the round firework structure), the pulque carriers (in the background), a *diablillo* (the little squatting figure dressed as a devil), and the releasing of doves and flowers from a *globo* (paper sphere) on the roof of an adobe house.[72] Another intriguing image, once probably paired with a missing painting of a bride, portrays an Indian groom dressed in his Sunday best holding a staff adorned with flowers (a traditional marriage symbol) and a baton of command symbolizing his noble status (fig. 126). The older man behind him is more elusive, but presumably he formed part of the wedding retinue; he is depicted with one eye closed, probably an allusion to the intoxicating effects of pulque, which is commonly described as part of the marriage ritual.[73] By the late eighteenth century, images of Indian weddings explode with originality: a folding screen showing a wedding group in the upper right is dominated by a depiction of Ixtacalco, a famous village on the outskirts of Mexico City known for its canals and colorful canoes and as a place of leisure for all social classes (fig. 127). Here scenes of bullfighting, strolling, eating, and drinking replace the more symbolically charged presence of pre-Columbian games and dances as part of the wedding scene of earlier depictions, marking an important shift that coincides with the Bourbon reforms and the increasing emphasis on secular forms of public entertainment.[74]



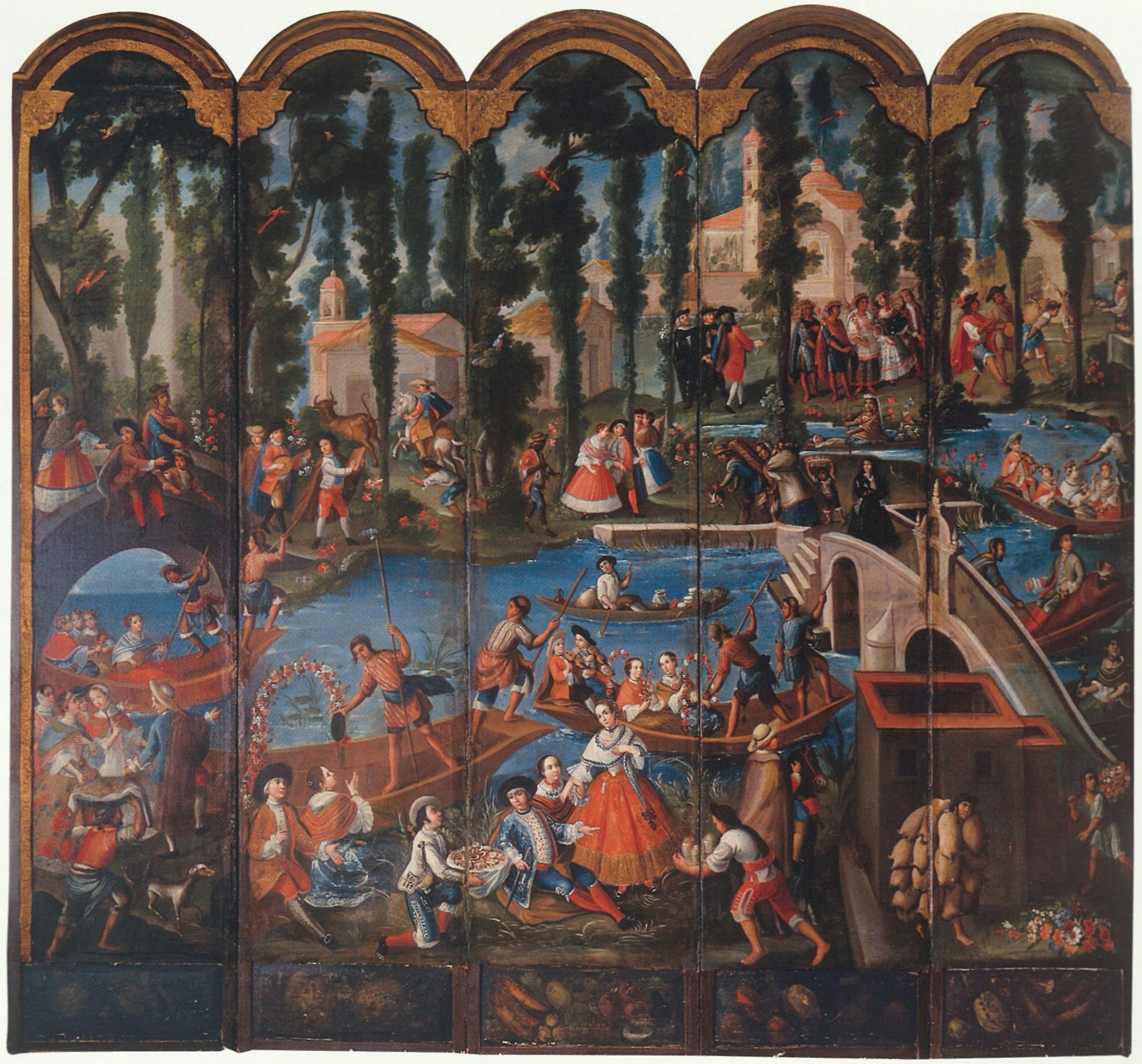
125 Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *Indian Wedding*, c. 1725; oil on canvas; 40 x 57 in. (100 x 145 cm). Private collection.



126 *Indian Groom*, first half of the 18th century; oil on canvas; 40 ½ x 30 in. (104 x 77 cm). Museo de América, Madrid.

Indeed, the incorporation of indigenous traditions as part of a wedding scene held a powerful meaning: it demonstrated that the native population of New Spain fully partook of an important Christian sacrament, thereby conveying the notion of a "civilized" land. This is important because many Europeans were bent on questioning the capacity of the inhabitants of the New World in general to become "true" Christians, thus calling into question their ability to be civilized.[75] In fact, this impulse may also lie behind another contemporaneous image, Manuel Arellano's monumental *Transfer of the Image and Inauguration of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe* of 1709 (figs. 128, 129). In 1709 the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was moved from a modest chapel (depicted to the right) to its magnificent new sanctuary designed by the architect Pedro de Arrieta (d. 1738). The painting documents the festivities surrounding that momentous event, which was attended by all sectors of society. An elaborate key in the lower right details the various activities taking place within view of the hill of Tepeyac, where the Virgin's shrine was erected. Leading the procession is Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, duque de Albuquerque and viceroy of Mexico (r. 1702–11). In the plaza immediately outside the shrine, various festive performances take place, including the pulling of a dragon-shaped *tarasca* (float) by various devilish figures and the presence of giant personifications (known as *gigantones*) of the four continents, conceived as couples consisting of a man and woman, to symbolize the universal spirit of the event.[76] Significantly, this important moment in the history of the viceroyalty is also marked by the inclusion of a mitote. The images discussed here not only documented aspects of colonial life but also served to convey a particular message about the colony as an exemplary devout place. Indian participation, with all its paradoxes, was key in making this notion palpable.

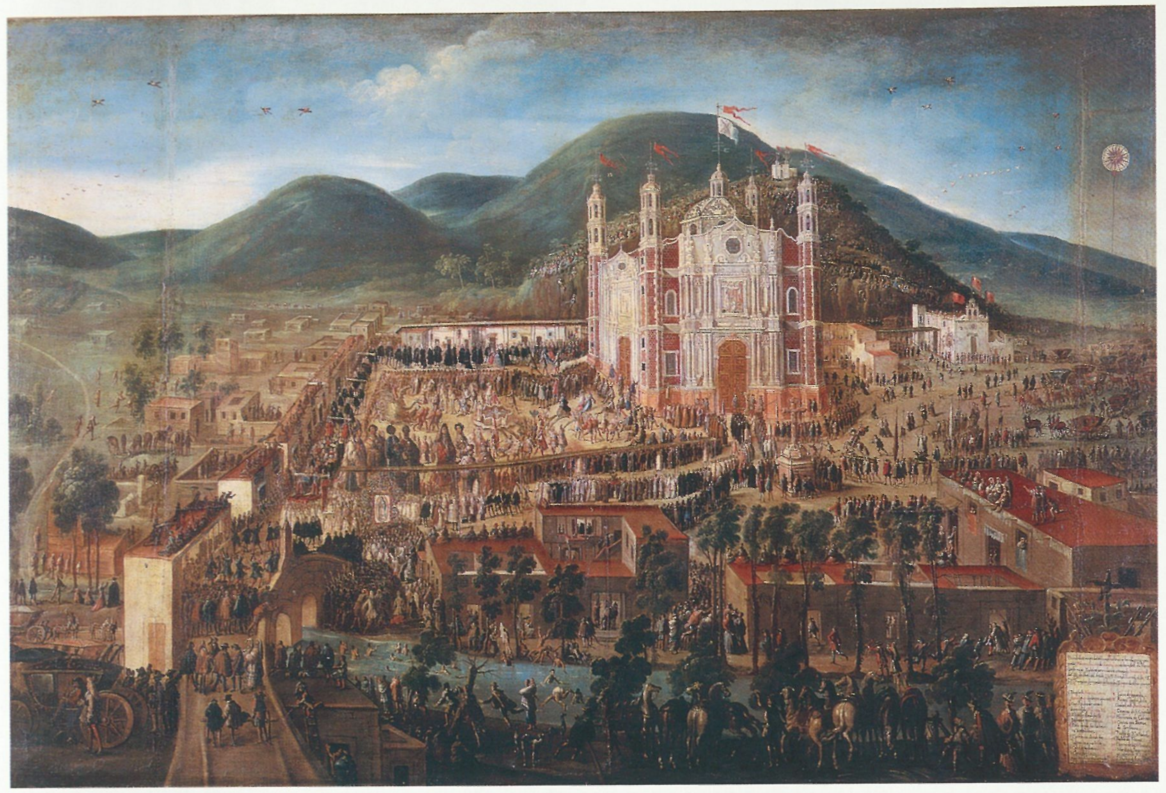
As we have seen, performances, images, and writings about festivals shared a number of discursive elements. These forms of expression were designed to bolster the image of the Catholic monarch and in the process reinforce the covenant among the various communities and interests that kept the political machine in place. Reenacting Mexico's ancient past, however, was not devoid of ambiguity. On the one hand, it "localized" New Spanish culture, but on the other, it manifested the elite's persistent fear of seeing its rule overthrown. Constantly alluding to the willing submission of Mexico's ancient rulers was a means of—temporarily—masking this anxiety and promoting a sense of social cohesion. Mockery or imitation became appropriate tools to render the past powerless. In other words, the Spaniards made use of Mexico's



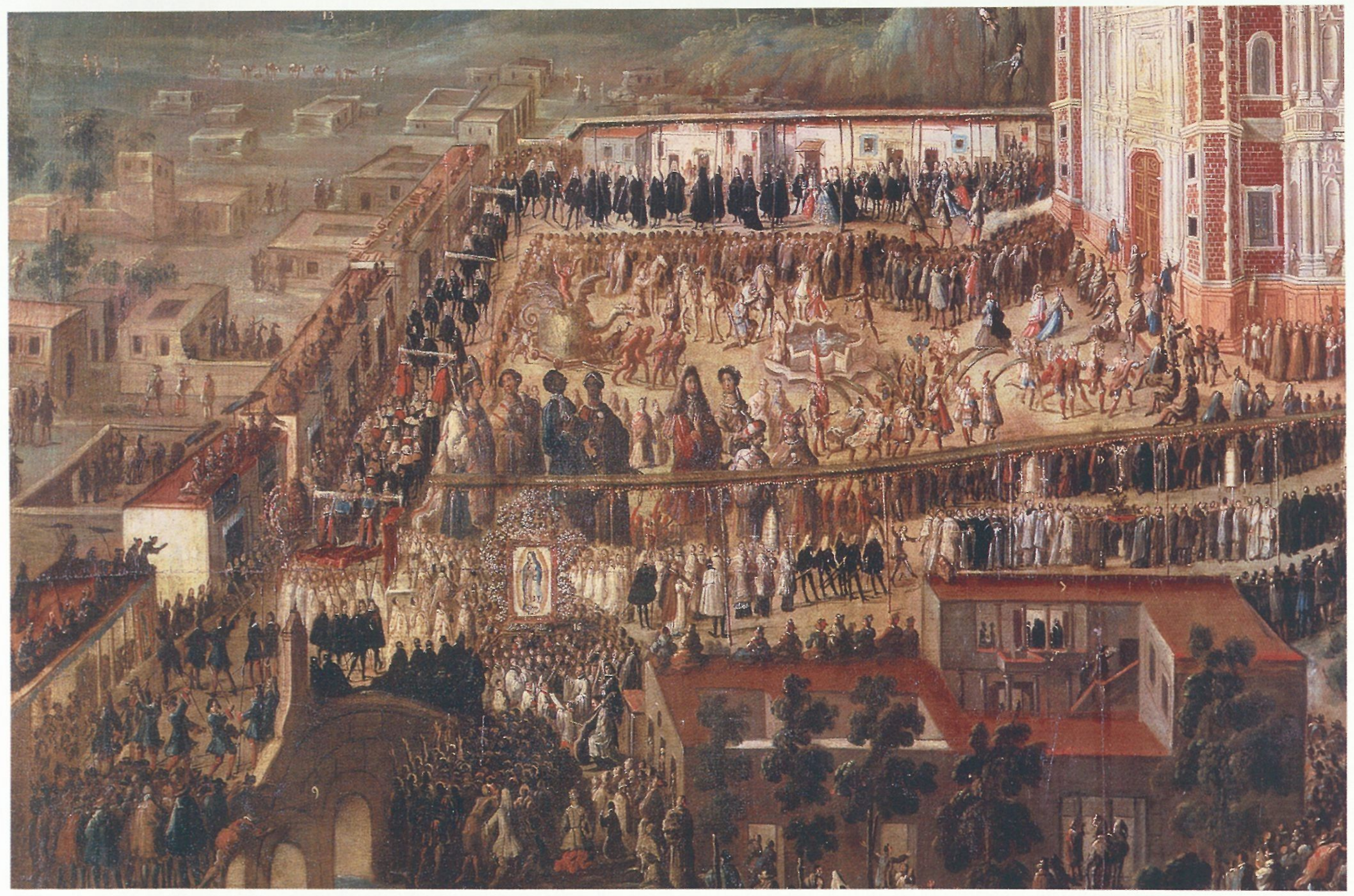
127 *Folding Screen with Indian Wedding and Paseo de Ixtacalco*, second half of the 18th century; oil on canvas; 100 x 110 ¼ in. (254 x 280 cm). Private collection.

ancient history in ambivalent ways to establish an identity for the colony and at the same time to discredit its pre-Hispanic past.

This, however, is not necessarily how the indigenous communities perceived the external politics of ritual. Although our knowledge here is much more fragmentary, the views of Chimalpahin offer an illustrative case. In his annals, which provide a vivid testimony of life in Mexico from a Nahua perspective, the author devotes numerous pages to describing processions—civic and ecclesiastical—revealing their significance within daily life in Mexico and for the indigenous communities in particular. In one entry he also lists all the governors of Mexico going back to pre-Hispanic times, ending with those "who have governed New Spain ever since it belonged to the Christians" and thereby establishing a continuum in the history of the land and its people. This way of writing history departs from a Spanish perspective, which tended to emphasize the notion of "transfer" and political schism. Tellingly, Chimalpahin refers to Mexico not as New Spain but as "New Mexico."[77] These are subtle details but ones worth considering when examining the kinetics of public festivals and how the various genres—performances, texts, and images—were constructed and interpreted by the multiple groups that made up the political entity that was New Spain.



128 Manuel Arellano, *Transfer of the Image and Inauguration of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe*, 1709; oil on canvas; 69 ⅜ x 102 ½ in. (176 x 260 cm). Private collection, Madrid.



129 Manuel Arellano, *Transfer of the Image and Inauguration of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe*, 1709 (detail of fig. 128).

Christi in Colonial Cuzco," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993): 93–120, esp. 104.

24. Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, vol. 2, 1417–18. For an account of the 1536 incident, see ibid., 805–6.

25. Romero, *Orígenes del periodismo*, 19–20.

26. Julian H. Steward, "Tribes of the Montaña: An Introduction," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Steward (New York: Cooper Square, 1963), vol. 3, 507–33.

27. Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 167.

28. F. M. Renard-Casevitz, Th. Saignes, and A. C. Taylor, *Al este de los Andes: Relaciones entre las sociedades amazónicas y andinas entre los siglos XV y XVII*, trans. Juan Carrera Colin (Quito: Abya-Yala; Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 1988), vol. 1, 43.

29. Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 43–46, 142.

30. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, trans. Jorge L. Urioste (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1988), vol. 3, 914–15 (fols. 983–84 [1001–2]).

31. Ibid., vol. 1, 60–61, 311–12 (fols. 77–78 [77–78], 339 [341]).

32. For more on the painted *queros* of the colonial period, see Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

33. Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 244.

34. Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 77.

35. Diego de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. Félix Denegri Luna, Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, and César Gutiérrez Muñoz (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, Banco Wiese, 1980), vol. 2, 183n333E.

36. Carolyn Dean, "Who's Naughty and Nice: Childish Behavior in the Paintings of Cuzco's Corpus Christi Procession," in "Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America," ed. Emily G. Umberger and Thomas B. F. Cummins, special issue, *Phøebus* 7 (1995): 107–26.

37. See Max Harris, "The Dramatic Testimony of Antonio de Ciudad Real: Indigenous Theatre in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 5, no. 2 (1996): 237–51, and Ilona Katzew's essay in this volume.

38. Guaman Poma, *Primer nueva corónica*, vol. 1, 288 (fol. 315 [317]). I am offering a loose translation of the section.

39. Ibid., vol. 2, 730–31 (fols. 783–84 [797–98]).

40. Francisco de Toledo, "Ordenanzas para los indios de la provincia de Charcas (Arequipa, 6 de noviembre de 1575)," in *Gobernantes del Perú: Cartas y papeles*, ed. Roberto Levillier (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921–26), vol. 8, 370. Although colonial authorities commonly issued highly restrictive edicts of this sort, they were seldom carried out, no doubt because of the impracticability of such close supervision.

KATZEW The Construction of Festive Rites

1. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 203. The term Nahua refers to the Nahuatl-speaking people of Central Mexico.

2. Two important recent works on the subject are: Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), and Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004). See also the classic study by José Antonio Maravall, *The Culture of the Baroque* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

3. I first published and identified the subject of the screen in Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 176. The painting's style recalls that of Manuel Arellano (c. 1663–1722) and José de la Mota (active 1710–28), but more research is required to establish its attribution. Some scholars have argued that the high quality of the work signals its Spanish origin—an unfounded assessment. Elisa Vargas Lugo, ed., *Imágenes de los naturales en el arte de la Nueva España siglos XVI al XVII* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2005), 486–87.

4. For an eyewitness account of the festival, see Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1632; Mexico City: Porrúa, 2004), 544–50. The festival is lucidly discussed in Patricia Lopes Don, "Constructing the Colonial Order: Carnivals, Triumphs, and Rain Gods in the New World; A Civic Festival in the City of México-Tenochtitlán in 1539," *Colonial Latin American Review* 6, no. 1 (1997): 17–40.

5. See, for example, Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and the essays in David Carasco, ed., *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991), particularly the essay by Johanna Broda.

6. This was the case at least for Ahuitzotl (r. 1486–1502) and Moctezuma II (r. 1502–20). Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de Tierra Firme* (1576–81), ed. Rosa Camelo and José Rubén Romero, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Cien de México, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2002), vol. 1, chap. 42, 382–90, and chap. 64, 471–77.

7. Lopes Don, "Constructing the Colonial Order," 25–26.

8. References to the striking effect of Mexican feather works abound in the literature, to the point of becoming a trope in writings about the New World. They also continued to be collected until the nineteenth century, as numerous inventories attest. See, for example, the following two inventories, which contain several references to feather works (*láminas de plumas*) of various advocations: Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Vínculos y Mayorazgos, vol. 170, exp. 1 (inventory of Doña Teresa Retis y Paz, marquesa de San Jorge, 1695), and AGN, Vínculos y Mayorazgos, vol. 217, exp. 2 (inventory of Doña María Graciana de Velasco Pedro y Ribero, condesa del Valle de Orizaba, 1739). The standard reference on feather work is Teresa Castelló Yturbide et al., *El arte plumaria en México* (Mexico City: Banamex-Accival, 1993). A team led by Diana Fane, Alessandra Russo, and Gerhard Wolf is preparing an important upcoming exhibition and book on the subject titled *El vuelo de las imágenes: Arte plumario en México y Europa*, Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.

9. Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España (*1536), ed. Claudio Esteva Fabregat (Madrid: Historia 16, 1985), 117, 127, 185.

10. For example, Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe* . . . (1645; Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1992), chap. 12, 639–40, 741–42.

11. See the seminal study by Richard Trexler, "We Think, They Act: Clerical Readings of Missionary Theatre in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), 187–227, and Fernando Horcasitas, *Teatro Náhuatl: Épocas novohispana y moderna*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1974–2004). For the Spaniards' skepticism regarding the content of song and dance after the conquest, see Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (c. 1560; Mexico City: Porrúa, 1985), bk. 1, chap. 20, 38–40. The conquistador noted that the Indians commemorated their ancient heroes, idols, and the destruction of their culture through song and dance, often interpolating Spanish words at key moments to simulate adherence to the Christian faith.

12. The Dominican Fray Diego Durán (c. 1537–1588) provided one of the most detailed accounts of the range of Mexica songs and dances, some of which were still performed in his own time. Durán, *Historia de las Indias*, vol. 2, chap. 21, 193–202. For the English translation, see Fray Diego Durán, *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*, trans. Fernando de Horcasitas and Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), chap. 21, 287–301.

13. See the classic works by Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, and Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964). For the significance of

elders as keepers of knowledge, see Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1547–88), introd. by Alfredo López Austin and Josefina García Quintana, 3 vols. (Mexico City: Cien de México, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2002), vol. 1, 129.

14. Durán, *Historia de las indias*, 200–201; Sahagún, *Historia general*, vol. 2, chap. 9, 742–43, and chap. 10, 745; Motolinía, *Historia de los indios*, 118; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (1615; Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975–83), vol. 3, bk. 10, chap. 38, 434–37, and vol. 4, bk. 14, chap. 11, 340–42, 344; and Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time*, ed. and trans. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 45.

15. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 3, bk. 10, chap. 38, 436. For other possible meanings of the *palo volador* connected to the cardinal points and the sun, see Helga Larsen, "Notes on the Volador and Its Associations, Ceremonies, and Superstitions," in *Ethnos* 11 (1937): 179–92.

16. *Codex Azcatitlan*, introd. by Michel Graulich (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Société des Américanistes, 1995), 144–47.

17. Sahagún, *Historia general*, vol. 2, chap. 10, 745. Highly detailed descriptions of the *juego de palo* are also found in Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 4, chap. 12, 344, and Antonio de Ciudad Real, *Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de Nueva España* (c. 1590), ed. Josefina García Quintana and Víctor M. Castillo Farreras (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993), vol. 2, 141–42.

18. Juan de Tovar, *Historia y creencias de los indios de México (1583–1587)*, ed. José J. Fuente del Pilar and Susana Urraca Uribe (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, 2001). Durán includes a similar illustration of a dance in his account (*Historia de las indias*, vol. 2, pl. 32).

19. Tovar, *Historia y creencias*, 176. For a fascinating record of the regalia of Aztec rulers and nobility, including military insignia, see Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales* (1559–61), ed. and trans. Thelma Sullivan, H. B. Nicholson, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Charles E. Dibble, Eloise Quiñones Kerber, and Wayne Ruwet (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 203–6, 260–76.

20. See José María Marroquí, *La ciudad de México*, 3 vols. (1900–1903; Mexico City: Jesús Medina, 1969), vol. 3, 494–516, and Linda A. Curcio Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryle English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1994), 1–26.

21. *Este es un cõpedio breve que tracta dla manera de como se hã de hazer las processiones: Compuesto por Dionisio Richel cartujano* . . . (Mexico City: Juan Cromberger, 1544). A copy of this rare book can be found at the New York Public Library. The author is known by several names, including Dionisio Ryckel.

22. Ibid., unpaged.

23. Ibid., unpaged. In 1555, for example, the Mexican council of bishops noted that the Indians were very prone to dancing and ordered that they refrain from "sporting insignias or wearing ancient masks that could be deemed suspicious, or that they sing songs about their ancient histories and rites." Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales primero, y segundo, celebrados en la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de México . . . Dalos a la luz . . . Francisco Antonio Lorenzana* (1555 and 1565; Mexico City: José Antonio de Hogal, 1760), chap. 72, 146.

24. Marroquí, *Ciudad de México*, vol. 3, 498.

25. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies," 15.

26. In addition to Corpus Christi, viceregal entries, and oath ceremonies, major state-sponsored festivals included those dedicated to the Virgin of Remedios (she was under the city council's tutelage), the royal banner (also known as the feast of San Hipólito), the reception of the royal seal, and the funeral of kings.

27. Cañeque, *King's Living Image*, 120. On this subject, see also Víctor Mínguez Cornelles, *Los reyes distantes* (Castelló de la Plana, Spain: Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 1995).

28. The attribution of the painting (and that of a companion one of a Franciscan procession from Tlatelolco to Tepeyac) to the workshop of José Juárez was suggested by Nelly Sigaut, *José Juárez: Recursos y discursos del arte de pintar*, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2002), 211–14.

29. On this subject, see Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo's "Moctezuma, Sigüenza y Cosme III," in Vargas Lugo, *Imágenes de los naturales*, 211–21. The English version appeared in Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, eds., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821*, exh. cat. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 171–77. Creole, or criollo, refers to a Spaniard who was born or raised in Spanish America and who generally had a strong sense of belonging to the land.

30. Concepción García Sáiz, "The Artistic Development of Casta Painting," in *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin American Art*, exh. cat., ed. Ilona Katzew (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1996), 30–41, esp. 31–32, and Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 10–15.

31. See, for example, Durán, *Historia de las Indias*, vol. 2, chap. 21, 199, and Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 4, bk. 14, chap. 11, 342.

32. Ciudad Real, *Tratado curioso y docto*, vol. 1, 102–3; vol. 2, 68–69, 81–82, 121, 150–51, 160.

33. The presence of counterfeit Chichimecs is more overtly depicted in a processional painting from Valladolid, Michoacán. Nelly Sigaut, "Azucenas entre espinas: El traslado del convento de las monjas de Santa Catalina de Siena en Valladolid, en 1738," in *Arte y vida cotidiana: XVI Coloquio Internacional de Historial del Arte* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1995), 199–215. Other paintings from the set attributed to Arellano may have fulfilled a similar role. A work depicting a mulatto woman bears an inscription that refers to the figure's racial makeup and to the nobility of Mexico City (a trope of festive literature); it also provides a date (August 22, 1711), which probably alludes to a public celebration. The work is reproduced in Pierce, Ruiz Gomar, and Bargellini, *Painting a New World*, 194–95.

34. See, for example, Cristóbal Gutiérrez Medina, *Viaje del Marqués de Villena*, ed. Manuel Romero de Terreros (1640; Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1947), 78–79, in which Medina describes a mitote performed by no fewer than four hundred Indians dressed in their characteristic cloaks and sporting feathers.

35. See Jaime Cuadriello, "Moctezuma through the Centuries," in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, ed. Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 119–50. For a lucid discussion of the case of viceregal Peru, see Carlos Espinosa, "Colonial Visions: Drama, Art, and Legitimation in Peru and Ecuador," in "Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America," ed. Emily G. Umberger and Thomas B. F. Cummins, special issue, *Phøebus* 7 (1995): 84–106.

36. Cañeque, *King's Living Image*, 45–46, 125–27.

37. For an analysis of Correa's screen, see Jaime Cuadriello, "El encuentro de Cortés y Moctezuma como escena de concordia," in *El amor y desamor en las artes: XXIII Coloquio internacional de historia del arte* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2001), 266–70.

38. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Theatro de virtudes políticas* . . . (Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo de Calderón, 1680). For a reconstruction of the arch, see Helga von Kügelgen, "Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, su estructuración emblemática de unos tableros en el arco de triunfo," in *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: La pintura emblemática en la Nueva España*, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1994), 151–60.

39. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 3, bk. 10, chap. 38, 436.

40. The feast originally commemorated the death of Spaniards at the hands of the Aztecs during the Noche Triste (July 11, 1519). The church of San Hipólito sat on the location where many Spaniards died. It later was redirected to glorify the conquest and the raising of the royal banner. On the feast, see Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*, 78–79, and Cañeque, *King's Living Image*, 146–49. For the 1595 play, see Marroquí, *Ciudad de México*, vol. 3, 503–4.

41. José Miguel Morales Folguera, *Cultura simbólica y arte efímero en la Nueva España* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 1991), 191–97. For the description of the pyre, see Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Túmulo imperial de la gran ciudad de México* . . . (Mexico City: Por Antonio de Espinosa, 1560).

42. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaje a la Nueva España* (1699–1700), ed. and trans. Francisca Perujo (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983), 114.

43. Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 67.

44. Clendinnen, *Aztecs*, 249–59, esp. 253. Early chronicles are full of references to the importance of deity impersonation in Mexica ritual. See, for example, Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*; Durán, *Historia de las indias*; and Sahagún, *Historia general*.

45. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 3, bk. 10, chap. 33, 419.

46. *Addicion a los festexos que en la Ciudad de Mexico, se hizieron al Marques mi señor, con el particular que le dedicò el Collegio de la Compañia de IESUS* (Mexico City: Bernardo Calderón, 1640), unpaged. A copy of this rare pamphlet is found at the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin. I wish to thank Susan Deans-Smith for her kind assistance in obtaining a copy of this text.

47. Cañeque, *King's Living Image*, 123–29; Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*, chaps. 2–3. For a detailed description of the 1755 entry ceremony of Viceroy Agustín de Ahumada y Villalón, see Beatriz Berndt, "Discursos de poder en un nuevo dominio: El trayecto del virrey Marqués de las Amarillas de Veracruz a Puebla, las fiestas de entrada y el ceremonial político," in *Relaciones* 101, no. 26 (2006): 227–59. For a useful list of many triumphal arches, see Folguera, *Cultura simbólica y arte efímero*.

48. Gutiérrez Medina, *Viaje del Marqués de Villena*, 87.

49. *Festin hecho por las morenas criollas de la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de Mexico, al recibimiento, y entrada del Excellentissimo Señor Marqués de Villena, Duque de Escalona, Virrey de esta Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1640). A copy of this rare document is found at the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin. It is also discussed in Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*, 58–63.

50. *Addicion a los festexos*, unpaged. Some contemporary authors also describe the Moctezuma dance as being performed by nine young girls. See Jean de Monségur, *Las nuevas memorias del capitán Jean de Monségur*, ed. Jean-Pierre Berthe, trans. Florence Olivier, Blanca Pulido, and Isabelle Véricat (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 38–39.

51. The procession was organized by the guild of *confiteros* and *cereros* (candy and wax makers). Research on New Spanish guilds in general remains underdeveloped. The classic study is Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521–1861* (Mexico City: Edición y Distribución Iberoamericana de Publicaciones, 1954).

52. Alonso Ramírez de Vargas, *Sencilla narración, alegórico fiel trasumpto, dibujo en sombras y diseño escaso de las fiestas grandes . . . en la celebrada nueva feliz de haber entrado el rey nuestro señor Don Carlos segundo* . . . (Mexico City: Por la Viuda de Bernardo de Calderón, 1677). The account is published in Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández, *Texto y fiesta en la literatura novohispana (1650–1700)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 193–267. All quotations derive from this transcription.

53. Ramírez de Vargas, in Rodríguez Hernández, *Texto y fiesta*, 232, 249–53, 259–64.

54. For a rich description of the Corpus Christi *enramada* and its symbolism for indigenous peoples, see Edward W. Osowski, *Indigenous Miracles: Nahua Authority in Colonial Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), chaps. 5–6.

55. Joaquín Antonio de Basarás, "Origen, costumbres y estado presente de mexicanos y filipinos (1763)," in *Una visión del México del Siglo de las Luces: La codificación de Joaquín Antonio de Basarás*, ed. Ilona Katzew (Mexico City: Landucci, 2006), 106–8. In the eighteenth century Indian festivals were a common sight in many towns during pastoral visits, leading bishop Alonso de Núñez de Haro y Peralta (r. 1771–1800) in 1774 to forbid the use of triumphal arches, fireworks, dances, and other types of secular entertainment during his visits to various towns. He also banned *cofradías* (religious sodalities) from bringing out banners, crucifixes, and other images until very close to the church. Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM), L10A/11. I wish to thank William B. Taylor for kindly sharing this reference and for his insightful suggestions in general.

56. On the consumption of pulque before and after the conquest, see Gibson, *Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 150–51.

57. The seven participating towns were San Juan (Tenochtitlan), Santiago Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Tacuba, Coyoacán, Xochimilco, and Mexicalcingo. For the description of the ceremony, see José Mariano de Abarca, *El sol en león, solemnes aplausos conque el Rey Nuestro Señor D. Fernando VI, sol de las Españas, fue celebrado el día 11 de Febrero del año 1747* . . . (Mexico City: Imprenta del Nuevo Rezado de Doña María de Ribera, 1748), 66–68. For a similar description of native participation in the 1623 jura of King Philip IV, see Arias de Villalobos, *Obediencia que México, cabeza de la Nueva España, dio a la Majestad Católica del Rey Felipe de Austria, alzando pendón de vasallaje en su real nombre* . . . (Mexico City: Imprenta de Diego Garrido, 1623), reprinted in Genaro Estrada, *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México* (Mexico City: Librería de la Vda. De CH. Bouret, 1907), 173–74. Something similar occurred during the feast of San Hipólito in 1676. When the royal banner was brought in front of the cathedral, it was greeted not only by ecclesiastical figures but also by representatives of various indigenous towns holding staffs adorned with flowers. Archivo Historico del Distrito Federal (AHDF), Historia Pendón, vol. 2277, exp. 1.

58. The personification of Mexico as a young woman wearing the characteristic huipil also became standard in depictions of the Virgin of Guadalupe and other allegorical images beginning in the sixteenth century. See Jaime Cuadriello, "Del escudo de armas al estandarte armado," in *Los pinceles de la historia: De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750–1860*, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2000), 33–36.

59. Thrones (whether empty and surmounted by painted images of the absent king and other members of the royal family) were the ultimate symbol of the king's right to rule and thus featured prominently in public festivals and pictorial representations.

60. Abarca, *Sol en león*, 224–31.

61. The image was appended to a series of eighteen casta paintings recently acquired by the Museo de América, Madrid.

62. Basarás, "Origen, costumbres y estado presente," 118–20.

63. Villalobos, *Obediencia que México*, 174–75. Something very different occurred in Peru, where the memory of the Indian past was a constant threat to colonial authorities. See Ramón Mujica Pinilla's and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden's essays in this book.

64. Ramírez, *Sencilla narración*, 250–51.

65. The Reconquista refers to the "reconquest" of Spanish lands that fell under Arab rule in 711, which after a centuries-long battle were finally reclaimed in 1492 by the Christians. See Marlène Albert-Llorca and José Antonio González Alcantud, eds., *Moros y cristianos: Representaciones del otro en las fiestas del mediterráneo occidental* (Granada: Centro de Investigaciones Etnológicas "Ángel Ganivet," 2003), esp. Albert-Llorca and González Alcantud's essay.

66. See, for example, the French translation of Solís's work: *Histoire de la conqueste du Mexique ou de la Nouvelle Espagne* . . . (Paris: Par la compagnie des libraires, 1704).

67. The lower portion of one shield includes two facing goats leaning against a tree, which in all likelihood refer to a family from the region of Cantabria, Spain. The screen also appears to be missing two panels, one from each side. The only other known *biombo* with this iconography is at the Museo de América in Madrid. The screen is discussed in Emily G. Umberger, "The *Monarchía Indiana* in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, exh. cat., ed. Diana Fane (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum; New York: Abrams, 1996), 46–58, although our interpretations differ. The almost identical rendition of the head-flying pole scene suggests a connection between the artists of the two screens.

68. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 5, bk. 16, chap. 22, 289. The author mentions the early tradition of displaying paintings with the sacraments in churches. For the significance of

sacramental life in indigenous communities, including funeral ceremonies, see Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, chap. 5, esp. 213. For additional depictions of Indian weddings and burials, see Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 80–81.

69. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, chap. 22, 284–87.

70. Ibid., vol. 3, chap. 38, 435.

71. Francisco de Lorra Baquio, *Manual mexicano de la administración de los santos sacramentos, conforme al manual toledano, compuesto en lengua mexicana* (Mexico City: Diego Gutiérrez, 1634), 105v.

72. For a description of this type of festive invention, see Villalobos, *Obediencia que México*, 146–47.

73. Basarás, "Origen, costumbres y estado presente," 120–23. Some eighteenth-century casta paintings, for example, include similarly "winking" figures standing next to a barrel of pulque. See Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 125, fig. 155. This portrait was misidentified as that of Juan Diego. See *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte: Nueva España* (Mexico City: Grupo Azabache, 1994), vol. 1, 286–87.

74. The Bourbon reforms refer to a period of reorganization of the Spanish government initiated by King Philip V (r. 1700–46) and Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–59), which reached its fullest expression under Charles III (r. 1759–88) and Charles IV (r. 1788–1808). Juan Pedro Viqueira, *¿Relajados o reprimidos? Diversiones públicas y vida social en la ciudad de México durante el siglo de las Luces* (Mexcio City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987).

75. On this topic, see Ilona Katzew, "'That This Should Be Published and Again in the Age of the Enlightenment?': Eighteenth-Century Debates about the Indian Body in Colonial Mexico," in Katzew and Deans-Smith, *Race and Classification*, 73–118.

76. Usually shaped like a large dragon and placed on a cart, the *tarasca* symbolized sin conquered by the Holy Spirit. On the symbolism of the *tarasca* and *gigantones* in Spain, see Javier Portús Pérez, *La antigua procesión del Corpus Christi en Madrid* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1993).

77. Chimalpahin, *Annals of His Time*, 145–57.

MUJICA PINILLA Hell in the Andes

This essay is dedicated to Teresa Gisbert.

1. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 40–42. For the social history of religious images in Spain, New Spain, and Peru, see Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007); Jaime Cuadriello, *Las glorias de la República de Tlaxcala, o la conciencia como imagen sublime* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and Museo Nacional de Arte, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2004); and Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999).

2. Luther Link, *The Devil: The Archfiend in Art from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 158; Francisco Stastny, *Síntomas medievales en el "Barroco Americano"* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1994), 13.

3. See "Relación sumaria de la causa de Angela Carranza y demás reos, que salieron en el auto de la fé celebrado en la ciudad de Lima, Corte del Perú, a 20 de diciembre de 1694, cuya relación la escribe el Dr. R. José del Hoyo, contador y abogado de presos," in *Documentos literarios del Perú*, ed. Manuel de Odriozola (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1875), vol. 7, 287–367.

4. Juana Gutiérrez Haces et al., *Cristóbal de Villalpando, ca. 1649–1714: Catálogo razonado* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Fomento Cultural Banamex, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1997), 278–83.

5. See Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Épica americana e imperio español: El poema ilustrado del conde de la Granja," *Goya* (Madrid) 327 (April–June 2009): 162–76.

6. Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, *Política indiana* (1648; Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1776), 27.

7. See Otto Carlos Stoetzer, *Las raíces escolásticas de la emancipación de la América española* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1982).

8. See José de Santiago Silva, *Atotonilco* (Guanajuato, Mexico: Ediciones La Rana, Instituto de la Cultura del Estado de Guanajuato, 1996). Also from the eighteenth century are the magnificent *Penas del infierno* (Punishments of hell), in the collection of La Profesa Church, and the *Alegoría del infierno* (Allegory of hell), housed at the Museo Nacional de Historia, both in Mexico City; see *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: La pintura emblemática de la Nueva España*, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Banamex Accival, 1994), 304–5.

9. Clara Bargellini and Michael Komanecky, eds., *El arte de las misiones del norte de la Nueva España, 1600–1821*, exh. cat. (Mexico City: Antigüo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 253–54.

10. The building is no longer extant. For its description, see Baltasar de Moncada, *Descripcion de la casa fabricada en Lima, corte del Perú, para... las señoras ilustres de ella...* (Seville: Joseph Padrino, 1757).

11. See José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Holguín y la pintura virreinal en Bolivia* (La Paz, Bolivia: Librería Editorial Juventud, 1977), pl. 171.

12. Santiago Sebastián López, "Lectura iconográfica de la versión guaraní del libro del padre Nieremberg, de la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 48–49 (1992): 309–28. See also Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, "El infierno y la gloria en la iglesia de Carabuco," in *Entre el infierno y la gloria* (La Paz, Bolivia: Centro Nacional de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Muebles, 2003), unpaged.

13. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, "De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno (1640)," in *Obras escogidas*, ed. D. Eduardo Zepeda-Henríquez (Madrid: Atlas, 1957), vol. 2, 204–9.

14. "Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana por sermones," in Juan Guillermo Durán, *Monumenta catechetica hispanoamericana (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina "Santa María de los Buenos Aires," 1984–90), vol. 2, 732.

15. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 7–11.

16. "Tercero catecismo," 733.

17. Ibid.

18. Maureen Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish *Auto de Fe*," *Sixteenth-Century Journal: The Journal of Early Modern Studies* 22, no. 2 (1991): 281–97. José de Acosta described the auto de fe as a public and religious ritual that preceded the Last Judgment: it was a way to announce the crimes of those about to be judged. I wish to thank Sabine MacCormack for this observation.

19. Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 74–86.

20. Alejandro Cañeque, "Theater of Power: Writing and Representing the Auto de Fe in Colonial Mexico," *Americas* 52, no. 3 (January 1996): 321–43.

21. Prior to that date some Indian prisoners had been sentenced to death; see J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Colonizing Souls: The Failure of the Indian Inquisition and the Rise of Penitential Discipline," in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 3–22.

22. Francisco de Ávila, *Tratado de los evangelios... y se pone un sermon en cada uno en las lenguas castellana, y general de los indios deste reyno del Perù; y en ellos donde dà lugar la materia, se refutan los errores de la gentilidad de dichos indios* (Lima, 1646–48), vol. 2, 40.

23. Ibid., 6.

24. Ibid., 50.

25. Víctor Peralta Ruiz, "La iconografía de la justicia y de la tortura judicial: El universo mental de Judas Tadeo Andrade," in *Justicia y tortura en los Andes: Recurso de Judas Tadeo Andrade ante la audiencia de Charcas, 1791*, ed. Marcela Inch Calvimonte and Marta Irurozqui Victoriano (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Sucre: Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, 2007), 36.

26. Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para corregidores y señores de vasallos, en tiempo de paz, y de guerra y para juezes eclesiasticos y seglares, y de sacas, aduanas, y de residencias, y sus oficiales* (Antwerp: En Casa de I. B. Verdussen, 1704), vol. 2, 277, 542.

27. Javier Portús, "Infiernos pintados: Iconografía